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## STATISTICAL TERMINOLOGY IN THE FAMILY WELFARE FIELD<sup>1</sup>

DO SOCIAL agencies generally have records from which can be gathered an orderly array of facts? Can their statistics be relied upon as a sound basis for the development of new social policies and new lines of work? Are the figures in their annual and special reports properly correlated and comparable from year to year and from city to city, or are they rather collections of data that are useless for comparative purposes? These were the questions raised twenty years ago by the late John Koren, expert special agent of the United States Census Bureau, in his address as chairman of the Committee on Statistics of the National Conference of Social Work. Certainly in 1908 most of the leaders in the field were willing to confess that social work statistics, when measured by rigid tests, had little beyond good intentions to commend them. What answer can be given now, a score of years later?

It is not the purpose of this report to attempt a complete reply, but rather to point out a few of the accomplishments of the period and a few of the problems that still must be attacked. Of the family welfare field—to which this paper is limited—it can be said with certainty that discussions of the subject have shifted from the ques-

<sup>1</sup> A report recently submitted to the Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago on the Registration of Social Statistics.

tion "What use is it to keep statistics?" to the more enlightened question, "What statistics shall be kept?" In other words, the importance of some kind of statistics is no longer considered a matter for debate among workers in this field. In the second place it is true that the appointment of a committee on statistics as a permanent part of the machinery of the national association<sup>1</sup> has done much to determine what statistics shall be kept and what these statistics mean. The work of this committee has placed the family welfare field far in advance of some other branches of social work in this respect.

The chief purposes of family welfare statistics were outlined by the national committee in its first report in 1915. These were, in brief, "publicity" and "case supervision." The committee recognized that for "publicity" purposes uniformity was essential. On this point the report states:

*Uniformity.*—Statistics should be so gathered as to be of service, not only in interpreting the work of one charity organization society to another, but in making comparisons possible among social agencies of all kinds in so far as they have to face similar community or individual problems. To this end as much uniformity as possible is desirable in the figures gathered, and particularly in the definition of terms used.<sup>2</sup>

In the interest of promoting this policy the committee made certain definite suggestions with regard to statistics covering the following aspects of family welfare work: (1) the family count, (2) sources from which families come to the society's attention, (3) social status, (4) problems presented (disabilities), (5) service rendered by the agency, (6) relief given, (7) count of volunteers, (8) confidential exchange.

Within the thirteen years that have elapsed since this committee reported that statistics were needed for "publicity" and for "supervision," two additional reasons for uniform statistics have begun to be recognized. The first is the need for an intelligent apportionment of community funds and the concomitant necessity of rendering an

<sup>1</sup> This organization in 1915 was called the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. The name was later changed to American Association for Organizing Charity, and is now the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

<sup>2</sup> *Charity Organization Statistics. Report of the Committees on Statistics of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1915), p. 120.

account to the community of the uses to which these funds have been devoted; the second is the hope of contributing to the growing body of knowledge with regard to economic and social conditions through the construction of a dependency index as a complement to the various indices of prosperity.

For these last two purposes the figure of primary importance is the "family count," the "case load," or some similar measure of "volume of work." Until we are able to state with confidence the simplest quantitative measurements of family case work we are in no position to deal statistically with the more complicated matters of causes and results. This was fully recognized by all the representatives of family welfare agencies who spoke on the subject of family welfare statistics at the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee in 1921.<sup>1</sup> The "family count" was the only group of figures which all speakers agreed was indispensable, while many doubts were expressed as to the accuracy and value of counts of "problems presented," "services rendered," and other more elaborate statistical analyses.

In spite of this emphasis upon the importance of a uniform "family count," however, several attempts within the last few years to compile comparable figures for groups of agencies and groups of cities have failed to yield results that are satisfactory either to those compiling the statistics or to the case workers who are responsible for furnishing the primary data. For example, efforts to construct a dependency index have thrown the emphasis upon the giving of relief, which, to the more thoughtful case workers, seems a backward step. Nevertheless, in fairness to the statistician it must be admitted that the only reliable measurement of volume thus far afforded by family welfare societies has been either in terms of dollars and cents or of the number of families receiving relief.

All efforts<sup>2</sup> to consider the volume of service instead of or in

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the papers presented at this meeting see Fred S. Hall, "Statistics," in *The Family* (November, 1921), p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> One of these efforts, a questionnaire prepared by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work and sent out to 204 cities in 1922 was commented upon by Linton B. Swift as follows: "That such statistics may be available and worth gathering we must co-operate in an effort to make our classifications and our definitions of terms more uniform. . . . Let us accept and use a common definition of the term 'case load' and its classifications." *The Family* (July, 1923), p. 131.

addition to the amount of relief, and thus to count the number of "cases" served, have encountered the fundamental difficulty of deciding what constitutes a "case." Even if, as the Committee on Statistics of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity suggests, the term "case" be abandoned in favor of the "family count," there is still the difficulty of deciding when a family is to be counted and when it is not. If the somewhat arbitrary plan be followed of counting all those for whom a record is kept, the difficulty is increased by the fact that some agencies keep a record of all persons to whom information only is given, while others keep no records of such slight service. In other words, uniform terminology means nothing in the absence of uniform practice.

If it proves possible to agree upon what constitutes a "case," there is the further question of whether all cases are to be considered of equal importance. The agency in a large city may receive an undue proportion of out-of-town inquiries because of the size and geographical position of the community. Is its case load comparable with that of an agency in another city which happens to have a small proportion of out-of-town inquiries and a relatively larger proportion of families receiving considerable service? Family welfare workers as well as statisticians seem to agree that comparisons under these circumstances are invalid and that classification according to the content of the case is essential. In fact, the report of the Committee on Statistics of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity in 1915 suggested that the family count be divided into two groups: (1) those "under care," and (2) those "not under care."

This classification seems to have been accepted and followed quite generally throughout the family welfare field. To cite only a few instances, the terms "under care" and "not under care" were used by the Philadelphia Intake Committee in 1919, by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work in its questionnaire to 204 family welfare societies in 1922, and by the Family Welfare Association of Minneapolis in its report to the Council of Social Agencies<sup>1</sup> in 1923.

In its second report, issued in August, 1918, the Committee on

<sup>1</sup> See F. J. Bruno, "Unit Cost of Service in a Case Working Agency," *The Family* (June, 1923), p. 89.



Statistics of the American Association for Organizing Charity retained its twofold classification but changed the terms to families "under care" and families "receiving minor service."<sup>1</sup> When the American Association for Community Organization and the Welfare Federation of Cleveland undertook their study of the "Volume and Cost of Social Work in Nineteen Cities in 1924," cases in the family welfare field were divided according to the suggestion in the 1918 report of the American Association for Organizing Charity into (1) those "under care" and (2) "minor service" cases. In 1926 in an extension of this study to 42 cities the terms used were (1) cases "under continuing care" and (2) "minor care" cases.

In January, 1926, when the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation began a collection of monthly figures from twenty-nine family welfare agencies<sup>2</sup> the terms "major care" cases and "minor care" cases were adopted, and in January, 1928, the Joint Committee on Registration of Social Statistics of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago decided to use these same terms.

The evolution of current classification is thus apparent: "Under care" has become "major care," and "not under care" has become "minor care." It now remains to determine whether this change in names has resulted in a clarification of meanings.

The 1915 Committee of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity did not define "under care" except by exclusion and implication. Cases "open" but not "active" were to be excluded from the count of cases "under care" during the month. For agencies whose practices include the closing of cases the suggestion of a monthly report system limited cases "under care" to those that might be carried over under "continuous care." This continuity of treatment seems to have been the determining characteristic in the definition of "under care" cases.

The definition of "not under care" cases was merely a list of five types of services that were to be counted in this group:<sup>3</sup> (1) investi-

<sup>1</sup> *Charity Organization Bulletin*, privately printed for the Russell Sage Foundation, IX (August-September, 1918), p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Later extended to forty-two agencies.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

gations made, or other work done, for out-of-town individuals or agencies; (2) investigations made *on behalf of* local individuals or agencies, and nothing else done, other than possibly making recommendations (this does not include those instances of "investigations only" where the family is taken under care, but where it develops after investigation that there is no need to give any form of treatment); (3) reports given—copies or summaries from the society's inactive records—but no contact, during the month, with the families; (4) interviews held, and nothing else done other than the giving of advice, the reference of the families to other agencies, etc.; (5) families not found at addresses given.

The committee explained its reasons for grouping these services as follows:

*Families "not under care."*—This group, as a whole, is a new one in the statistics of organized charity, though all of the items included have been shown separately by one or another society. Our belief that the phases of our work here described should be separately recorded is based on the fact that, in general, they represent work that is so much less intensive, or at least less continuous, that it is misleading to have families that have had attention of this sort added into the regular total. When such families constitute a considerable proportion of the total—as is true in certain societies—and are counted in as "under care," there is no fair basis of comparison with later years when, if there has been a change of policy, the number of local "investigations only," for example, may be very much decreased. Intersociety comparisons are similarly made unsafe.<sup>1</sup>

It should be further noted that the committee recommended in 1915, not a count of *families* which had received "not under care" services, but a count of *instances* in which these services had been rendered, and cautioned against adding this count to the count of cases "under care" because of the possible duplication within the former group and because of the transfers from one group to the other.<sup>2</sup>

Since only these five types of service were to be counted as "not under care," and since cases "under care" were limited to those receiving "continuous care," it seems probable that some kinds of service may have fallen in neither category. The committee evi-

<sup>1</sup> *Charity Organization Statistics. Report of the Committee on Statistics of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1915), p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> This caution was reiterated in 1918.

dently recognized this weakness in its first definitions, and in its second report, issued in 1918, it extended the minor care list to thirteen types of service, including a miscellaneous group entitled "Other." The complete list quoted from the report of the committee is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

*aa. Investigations for others.*—Investigations are made on behalf of local individuals or agencies, and nothing else done other than possibly making recommendations.

*bb. Interviews only.*—Interviews are held—in the office, in the family's home, or elsewhere—and nothing else done other than possibly the giving of advice, the reference of the families to other agencies, etc., as needed (this group covers all instances in which, as a result of the society's interviews—which may or may not extend to relatives and other outside sources, and which may or may not be supplemented by written inquiries—it develops that the family, at that time, is in no need of any service that the society is in a position to render, other than that specified above).

*cc. Co-operation refused.*—The families have applied to the society, or have been referred to it, but will not allow it to do anything for them.

*dd. Relief only.*—Instances of "interviews only," as defined above, in connection with which incidental relief is given, i.e., relief limited to the period of the office or field interviews (this group does not include contacts for the sake of outings or presents or dinners at the Christmas or Thanksgiving season; they are provided for in *ff*, *gg*, and *hh*, below).

*ee. Employment only.*—The society's only contact with families previously but not at the time under care is for the purpose of assisting them to obtain work (this group does not include families investigated and found to need nothing but employment, which they are then assisted to get).

*ff. Christmas or Thanksgiving only.*—Families not at the time under care, after such inquiries by the society as seem necessary, are given gifts or dinners at the Christmas or Thanksgiving season either by the society itself or by individuals or by other agencies.

*gg. Outings only.*—Families not at the time under care, after such inquiries by the society as seem necessary, are given outings by it or by other agencies.

*hh. Names only.*—The names of families not then under care, without any new inquiries by the society, are given to individuals or agencies who wish to give them temporary relief or service (this includes instances in which the names are given for the purpose of Christmas presents or Christmas or Thanksgiving dinners, or for the purpose of outings).

*ii. Reports only.*—Reports are given to individuals or agencies—copies or summaries from the society's inactive records—or received from other agencies, but there is no contact with the families.

<sup>1</sup> *Charity Organization Bulletin, op. cit.*, IX, Nos 9 and 10 (1918), 73-74.

*jj. Other minor services.*—The society performs some minor services, not included in the preceding groups, on behalf of families not at the time under care.

*kk. Not found.*—Families are not found at the address given.

*ll. Out of town inquiries answered.*—Investigations are made or other work done for out of town individuals or agencies and reports sent to them.

*mm. Out of town inquiries forwarded.*—Societies designated as "forwarding centers" receive requests for investigation and send them on to their correspondents in the localities in which the investigations are to be made.

The American Association for Community Organization in 1926 defined "cases under continuing care" as "families or individuals for whom the organization has accepted continuing responsibility for treatment." "Minor care cases" were defined as "cases for which continuing responsibility for treatment is not accepted after one or more contacts, such as cases for investigation only, those handled at first interview, reports on closed cases, inquiries from other cities, etc."

This definition of minor care coincides exactly with the "not under care" list issued in 1915 by the Committee of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, except in the following particulars: (1) Item 5 of the list (family not found) is omitted from the definition. (2) "Etc." is added to the definition—an important addition, since it indicates that the "not under care" list had not proved sufficiently exhaustive. An even more important difference, however, was that this definition presupposed *families* as the unit of count in minor care cases, whereas the list of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity regarded an instance of service as the unit of count.

The first definition of "major care" cases used by the Russell Sage Foundation in January, 1926, was as follows:<sup>1</sup> "Major care cases are families or individuals for whom the society has accepted continuing responsibility for treatment." "Minor care," which was defined at the same time, apparently included all cases "for which responsibility for complete or continued treatment is not accepted," but the group was subdivided into five classes exactly corresponding to those specified as "not under care" by the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity in 1915, and since no provision

<sup>1</sup> Typewritten instructions to agencies. Russell Sage Foundation.

was made for "others," there was an implication that this list was exhaustive.<sup>1</sup>

These definitions of both major and minor care have been modified from time to time by the Russell Sage Foundation. The most important change occurred in 1927, when the process of diagnosis was made an essential element in the definition of major care:

*Active major-care cases* are cases for which the organization has accepted responsibility for making a thoroughgoing diagnosis and carrying out a plan of treatment, on which some work has been done within the month for which the figures are compiled."<sup>2</sup>

The trend of this development reached its logical conclusion in January, 1928, when the definition was made to include the three elements of "acceptance of responsibility," "social diagnosis," and the "carrying out of a plan of treatment":

A major care case is a case for which the organization, after careful consideration, assumes the responsibility for making a social diagnosis and for carrying out a plan of treatment.<sup>3</sup>

The "minor care" classification of the Russell Sage Foundation has likewise undergone a progressive modification. The schedule now in use subdivides minor care as follows:

Minor care cases:

1. Cases interviewed.
2. Cases not interviewed: (a) reports on closed cases; (b) investigations for out-of-town agencies; (c) others.

Accompanying this schedule is the following definition:

A minor care case is a case which is interviewed, or given attention indirectly, by a case worker once, or more than once, but for which responsibility for making a complete diagnosis and carrying out a plan of treatment is not accepted. The minor care classification does not necessarily imply that little attention has been given to the case.<sup>4</sup>

Another interesting change recently made in the Russell Sage schedule was the addition of a third classification originally called

<sup>1</sup> We have no explanation as to why the second report of the Committee of the American Association for Organizing Charity, issued in a confidential bulletin in 1918, was not followed instead of the 1915 report.

<sup>2</sup> *The Survey* (November 15, 1927), p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Mimeographed instructions. Russell Sage Foundation.

<sup>4</sup> Mimeographed instructions. Russell Sage Foundation.

"Information only," but now called "No case made," and defined as "persons receiving information or direction only . . . with whom no real case work interview is attempted."

The next organization to take up the question of defining terms was the Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, appointed in September, 1927. This committee had as its objective the gathering of social statistics from all agencies operating in the fields of dependency, delinquency, and illness in thirty cities.

In developing schedules for the family welfare field, this committee originally proposed to adopt the definitions of the Russell Sage Foundation. After investigating the matter, however, it came to the conclusion that these definitions were not statistically unimpeachable; the decision as to whether a case fell into the major care or the minor care classification could not be determined by concrete, objective tests, but was in the final analysis subject to the varying interpretations of workers with disparate standards of training and of case work excellence. It was conceded, however, that these definitions had induced noteworthy progress in the field of family welfare statistics, and whether more objective definitions could be evolved remained open to debate. Nevertheless, the committee decided to make the attempt.

The first step in the effort consisted in consulting available leaders in the family welfare field, most of whom were well aware of the weaknesses of the prevailing definitions. These workers suggested a number of definitions, of which only the three following appeared to have the merit of objectivity:

1. Any case which is initiated, treated, and disposed of within two weeks shall be called minor care, and any case which requires more than two weeks of treatment shall be called major care.
2. Any case which is handled exclusively in the agency's office shall be called minor care, and any case which necessitates field visits shall be called major care.
3. Any case which is recorded only on a "slight service card" shall be called minor care, and any case for which a face sheet is made and a running summary is kept shall be called major care.



It was recognized that cases could be classified in exactly the same way in every city according to any of these definitions, but the committee believed that the resulting figures would fall far short of reflecting significant facts. A case of major consequence might easily be handled in a week and without field visits, whereas trifling services might conceivably involve family visitation and a period of contact in excess of two weeks. The third definition was rejected because of its recognized unfavorable effect upon case workers. Just as the physician sometimes fails to discover chronic appendicitis merely because his patient comes to him announcing a previously diagnosed bronchitis, so the social worker who is thinking in terms of the "slight service record" sometimes overlooks the deeper lying social disaffections.

The problem of determining when a given situation was of too little importance to be counted at all also presented itself. One old well-established agency felt it had solved this problem by introducing a third classification called "no case count." Into this catch-all were dumped all those miscellaneous services which seemed too unimportant to be dignified by the word "case." This agency preserved the integrity of its minor case modification by insisting that a minor case be counted only once in any given month, even though several services were performed.

In many agencies, however, this policy has never been adopted and "minor care case" has been used practically in the sense of "a service rendered," which means that the same family group may constitute several minor care cases in any given month.<sup>\*</sup>

This preliminary study convinced the committee that the problem resolved itself into at least three distinct parts: (a) What precise distinction can be drawn between major care and minor care? (b) What precise distinction can be drawn between minor care and those multitudinous services which lie below the "case" level? (c) Should a minor care case be counted only once in any given month, or should it be counted as "an instance of service" each time it is reactivated?

The opening date of the registration arrived without decision in

<sup>\*</sup> This was recommended by the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity in 1915 and again in 1918.



these matters, and the co-operating agencies were asked to report major care and minor care in accord with their own current policies. Meanwhile it was proposed to discover by questionnaire whether any one policy was sufficiently widespread and sufficiently objective to recommend itself for permanent use.

The questionnaire devised for this purpose listed briefly a series of case work situations most of which appeared to fall in the twilight zone between "not a case" and "minor care" or between "minor care" and "major care." At the right-hand side of the page three columns were provided in which agencies could place a check mark to indicate whether they would classify the given situation as "not a case," "major care," or "minor care." Typical situations were repeated two or three times consecutively, one variable element entering each time into the summary. Before the questionnaire was distributed it was submitted to two important family welfare agencies for suggestions. Differences of opinion as to how given items should be checked existed not only between the two agencies, but even among the district offices of one of them. Undoubtedly these differences of opinion were due at least in part to the necessarily fragmentary character of the situations presented for analysis on the questionnaire. If each summary could have been exhaustive, the number of divergent analyses would undoubtedly have been reduced. The agencies themselves felt, however, that the questionnaire showed them with new force the comparative unreliability of their service statistics, and urged that, with minor changes, it be submitted to as many family welfare societies as could be interested.

Ninety-four family welfare agencies in twenty-nine cities checked the questionnaire. Only 118 out of a possible 2,914 changes or marginal comments were written in opposite the items. This fact, combined with the small number of "doubtful" and "not-reported" items, seems to indicate that the situations presented, despite their summary form, were sufficiently detailed to enable most agencies to make clear-cut decisions.

The results of the tabulation of these questionnaires are shown in Table I. The table is divided into three sections; the first (designated as A) contains the replies of all of the ninety-four agencies; the second and third contain the replies of special groups that will be described later.

TABLE I  
RESPONSES OF 94 FAMILY WELFARE AGENCIES TO QUESTIONNAIRE WITH REGARD TO CLASSIFICATION OF  
CASES AS "MAJOR CARE" OR "MINOR CARE"

SITUATION PRESENTED	ALL AGENCIES (A)					25 AGENCIES REPORTED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)					10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SCALE DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)					
	Total (1)	Not a Case (2)	A Minor Care Case (3)	A Major Care Case (4)	Doubt- ful (5)	Total (6)	Not a Case (7)	A Minor Care Case (8)	A Major Care Case (9)	Doubt- ful (10)	Total (11)	Not a Case (12)	A Minor Care Case (13)	A Major Care Case (14)	Doubt- ful (15)	
1. A telephone call or letter reporting that a family or individual is in need of assistance; individual reporting the case is advised that agency does not have facilities to handle this type of case or lacks resources to take on any additional cases and advises applying elsewhere.....	94	78	16	0	0	25	20	5	0	0	10	7	3	0	0	0
2. Family or individual applies at office for aid; agency lacks time or money to handle case and advises client to apply elsewhere.....	94	66	24	1	3	25	17	7	0	1	10	7	3	0	0	0
3. Telephone call or letter reports family in need of assistance; field visit fails to locate family.....	94	37	55	2	0	25	4	20	1	0	10	3	7	0	0	0
4. Telephone call or letter reports family in need of assistance; first visit shows family independent and not in need of advice or assistance.....	94	31	60	2	1	25	1	23	1	0	10	0	10	0	0	0
5. Case of distress is reported to agency with inadequate information; through field visits and family is dismissed as not in need of assistance.....	94	16	54	23	1	25	0	18	7	0	10	0	6	4	0	0
6. Telephone call or letter reports family in need of assistance; first visit reveals problem that should be handled by another agency and matter is referred to that agency.....	94	17	69	7	1	25	1	22	2	0	10	2	8	0	0	0
7. Agency or individual reports case of distress; worker refers client to another agency, either by telephone or written slip.....	94	51	41	2	0	25	13	12	0	0	10	5	5	0	0	0

TABLE I—Continued

SITUATION PRESENTED	ALL AGENCIES (A)					25 AGENCIES REFERRED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)					10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SAGE DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)				
	Total (1)	Not a Case (2)	A Minor Care Case (3)	A Major Care Case (4)	Doubt- ful (5)	Total (6)	Not a Case (7)	A Minor Care Case (8)	A Major Care Case (9)	Doubt- ful (10)	Total (11)	Not a Case (12)	A Minor Care Case (13)	A Major Care Case (14)	Doubt- ful (15)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
8. Family or individual applies at office for aid; worker conducts client personally to another agency.....	94	34	56	4	0	25	10	14	1	0	10	4	6	0	0
9. Individual applying at office for aid is referred to a job at time of application....	94	16	67	10	1	25	3	19	3	0	10	2	8	0	0
10. Family or individual applies at office for aid; provision made for next meal or for clothing and family disappears before further act can be made.....	94	5	80	8	1	25	0	21	4	0	10	0	9	1	0
11. Family or individual applies at office for aid; investigation started by telephone, telegraph, or correspondence (not field visits) and clients disappear before aid is given or before a plan can be made.....	94	21	60	12	1	25	0	22	3	0	10	0	0	10	0
12. Family or individual applies at office for aid; investigation started by telephone, telegraph or correspondence (not field visits) and family is transported at agency's expense to another community which is their place of legal residence....	94	1	31	55	7	25	0	5	18	2	10	0	6	4	0
13. Family or individual applies at office for aid; a few field visits are made, no material relief is given, and before treatment plan can be set in motion, the family disappears.....	94	8	56	29	1	25	0	18	7	0	10	0	4	6	0
14. Family or individual applies at office for aid; a few visits are made, emergency relief is given either in cash or in kind, but before treatment plans can be set in motion, the family disappears.....	94	0	45	47	2	25	0	11	14	0	10	0	5	4	1
15. Family or individual applies at office for aid; field visits are made, emergency relief is given, but shortly after treatment is started, family is transferred to another agency.....	94	0	18	73	3	25	0	1	24	0	10	0	8	2	0

TABLE I—Continued

SITUATION PRESENTED	ALL AGENCIES (A)					25 AGENCIES REPUTED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)					10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SCALE OF DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)				
	Total (1)	Not a Case (2)	A Minor Care Case (3)	A Major Care Case (4)	Doubt- ful (5)	Total (6)	Not a Case (7)	A Minor Care Case (8)	A Major Care Case (9)	Doubt- ful (10)	Total (11)	Not a Case (12)	A Minor Care Case (13)	A Major Care Case (14)	Doubt- ful (15)
16. Workmen's compensation is secured for the non-dependent laborer's family, entire procedure being handled in agency's office without necessity for field visits, satisfactory adjustment of claim requiring:															
a) Two days.....	04	6	42	32	14	25	0	10	0	6	10	0	3	4	3
b) Two weeks.....	04	5	43	32	14	25	0	10	0	6	10	0	3	4	3
c) One month.....	04	3	34	44	13	25	0	8	11	6	10	0	3	4	3
d) Six weeks.....	04	3	31	47	13	25	0	8	11	6	10	0	3	4	3
e) Two months or more.....	04	3	25	51	15	25	0	7	11	7	10	0	3	3	4
17. Workmen's compensation is secured for the non-dependent laborer's family as a result of field visits, entire procedure satisfactory adjustment of claim requiring:															
a) One week.....	04	2	21	60	11	25	0	3	18	4	10	0	6	4	0
b) Two weeks.....	04	2	21	61	10	25	0	3	18	4	10	0	6	4	0
c) One month.....	04	2	17	67	8	25	0	3	18	4	10	0	6	4	0
d) Six weeks.....	04	2	16	67	9	25	0	3	18	4	10	0	6	4	0
e) Two months or more.....	04	2	11	73	8	25	0	3	18	4	10	0	6	4	0
18. Lost relative is located for individual through correspondence, without field visits, process requiring:															
a) One week.....	04	3	64	19	8	25	0	17	6	2	10	0	1	8	1
b) Two weeks.....	04	3	64	19	8	25	0	17	6	2	10	0	1	8	1
c) One month.....	04	3	54	20	8	25	0	17	6	2	10	0	1	8	1
d) Six weeks.....	04	3	51	32	8	25	0	17	6	2	10	0	1	8	1
e) Two months or more.....	04	3	48	36	7	25	0	17	6	2	10	0	1	8	1
19. Independent worker, not in need of financial assistance, but unable to make household successfully; visiting housekeeper is sent in to teach her how to cook and to organize the domestic work, no other service being given by agency.....	04	7	29	52	6	25	1	3	20	1	10	0	7	2	1

TABLE I—Continued

SITUATION PRESENTED	ALL AGENCIES (A)					25 AGENCIES REPORTED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)					10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SAGE DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)				
	Total (1)	Not a Case (2)	A Minor Care Case (3)	A Major Care Case (4)	Doubt- ful (5)	Total (6)	Not a Case (7)	A Minor Care Case (8)	A Major Care Case (9)	Doubt- ful (10)	Total (11)	Not a Case (12)	A Minor Care Case (13)	A Major Care Case (14)	Doubt- ful (15)
20. Mothers' aid secured from court for dependent widow through correspondence (no field visits); no other service needed or rendered. . . . .	94	5	53	27	9	25	0	17	8	0	10	0	2	8	0
21. Agency investigates for court an application for mothers' aid or widows' pension; goes to court to present case and urge award; no other service rendered by agency; no other service rendered by agency. . . . .	94	3	25	60	6	25	0	5	20	0	10	0	5	4	1
22. Responsibility for care in case of distress referred to agency by another local agency is accepted, but after investigation, case is dismissed, referred back to agency originally reporting the case, or is referred to a third agency, where procedure occurring with agency is similar. . . . .	94	3	55	31	5	25	0	14	9	2	10	0	4	5	1
23. Agency receives inquiry from agency in another city and sends back report from information in its files or from information secured by telephone. . . . .	94	16	74	1	3	25	0	24	0	1	10	0	1	9	0
24. Agency receives inquiry from agency in another city, makes field investigation, and sends back report from agency in another city. . . . .	94	5	79	6	4	25	0	23	0	2	10	0	1	9	0
25. Agency receives inquiry from agency in another city, makes field investigation and performs another service, such as sending birth or death certificate, or transmitting money from relative for care of dependent family living in the city which initiates the inquiry. . . . .	94	6	70	15	3	25	0	22	1	2	10	0	1	9	0

TABLE I—Continued

SITUATION PRESENTED	ALL AGENCIES (A)					25 AGENCIES REPORTED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)					10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SCALE DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)				
	Total (1)	Not a Case (2)	A Minor Care Case (3)	A Major Care Case (4)	Doubt- ful (5)	Total (6)	Not a Case (7)	A Minor Care Case (8)	A Major Care Case (9)	Doubt- ful (10)	Total (11)	Not a Case (12)	A Minor Care Case (13)	A Major Care Case (14)	Doubt- ful (15)
26. Case of distress reported to agency. In- vestigation made through field visits and adjustment effected so that case is closed in less than: a) One week..... b) Two weeks..... c) One month..... d) Six weeks..... e) Two months or more.....	94 94 94 94 94	2 1 1 1 1	36 29 22 12 7	59 51 64 76 82	6 8 7 5 4	25 25 25 25 25	0 0 0 0 0	3 3 3 0 0	20 22 23 24 24	2 1 1 1 1	10 10 10 10 10	0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0	8 8 8 8 8	2 2 2 2 2
27. Case of distress is reported. Individual or family placed on regular weekly or month- ly allowance following investigation.....	94	0	2	92	0	25	0	0	25	0	10	0	0	10	0
28. Case of distress reported to agency. In- vestigation made, plan of treatment out- lined, and treatment administered with no apparent success.....	94	0	3	91	0	25	0	0	25	0	10	0	0	10	0
29. Case of distress reported to agency. In- vestigation made, plan of treatment out- lined, and treatment administered which resulted in complete rehabilitation of family.....	94	1	0	93	0	25	0	0	25	0	10	0	0	10	0

TABLE II

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS	ALL AGENCIES (A)				25 AGENCIES REPUTED TO HAVE HIGH STANDARDS OF WORK (B)				10 AGENCIES WHICH HAVE USED THE RUSSELL SAGE DEFINITION FOR TWO YEARS (C)			
	Total	Yes	No	Not Re- ported	Total	Yes	No	Not Re- ported	Total	Yes	No	Not Re- ported
1. Does your agency maintain an application bureau? .....	94	40	30	15	25	7	12	6	10	4	4	2
a) If so, are all applications counted as major care cases? .....	94	48	43	25	25	0	11	14	10	0	5	5
b) If so, are all applications counted as minor care cases? .....	94	1	47	46	25	0	11	14	10	0	5	5
c) If so, are applications counted as major or minor care, depending upon subsequent service rendered? .....	94	46	3	45	25	12	0	13	10	6	0	4
2. Does your agency count every old major care case which is reopened a major care case, even if the new service performed would normally be counted a minor care? .....	94	13	69	12	25	3	22	0	10	1	9	0



Examination of this table throws interesting light upon the extent to which the various suggested definitions<sup>1</sup> conform with current practices of the ninety-four agencies. The time element, for example, enters into the classifications of a limited number of agencies, but these agencies do not uniformly transfer a case from minor care to major care after a given period of treatment. In Item 16 the decision of nineteen agencies was influenced by the length of time the case lasted; in Item 17, thirteen agencies, and in Item 18, seventeen agencies reflect the influence of the time factor, and in Item 26, thirty-two agencies shift progressively from minor to major care as the length of time increases.

The interesting point, however, is that the shift from minor to major care does not come at the same point in the successive items. If, in each of these four items, the shift were made from the minor care to the major care classification after the same length of service, the inference would be that some agencies consistently classify on the basis of number of weeks' care given. Since this is not the case, it appears that other factors in addition to time must enter into the decision. This hypothesis seems borne out by a comparison of the four summaries. Item 26 describes a situation in which prolonged treatment obviously suggests a complex problem. It is not difficult to imagine the following reasoning on the part of a case worker who considered the time element a contributory rather than a decisive factor in classification: "If I could settle this up in a couple of weeks I should count it as minor care; but on the other hand if the case ran along for two months I should probably have to do a good bit of work on it and I should then call it major care." It seems clear, then, that for the majority of the agencies replying the time element is not a factor in classification, and that even for those agencies which do consider it a factor, the practice is not consistent.

The definition "any case disposed of in less than two weeks is a minor care case" apparently then must go into the discard. This conclusion is supported by the interlinear remarks of several agencies. "Time is not an element," said one. "Not determined by time, but by the problem and the service," said another. On the other hand, that the time element is at least a contributory factor seems

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 366.

to be implied by the fact that in Item 26 thirty-two agencies would regard the problem as minor care if only two weeks' treatment were required, whereas only seven would so regard it if two months or more were required.

Similarly, it appears that cases are not classified on the basis of "in the office" and "out of the office" treatment. Items 3 and 4, for example, present similar situations, the chief difference being that a field visit is made in the latter case, while in Item 3 no field contact is successfully completed. Only two agencies would call the case major care in either instance, whereas if a large number of agencies called every case involving field visits a major care case, a large number would have classified Item 4 as major care. Items 23 and 24 also present similar situations, except for the element of field visitation; here only five agencies out of the entire ninety-four appear to have been influenced by this factor. In the two comparisons just cited, only one field visit is involved. As the number of field visits increases there is a stronger trend toward the major care classification, as is evidenced by comparing Item 11 with Item 13. The query at once suggests itself: Does the mere gesture of going out into the field several times loom up in the worker's consciousness as an important factor in classification?

The granting of relief definitely influences a considerable number of agencies in classifying cases, even though only emergency relief is given. Items 13 and 14 are similar except for the granting of emergency relief, yet eighteen agencies shifted from the minor care or not a case columns in Item 13 to the major care column in Item 14, evidently influenced by this relief factor. Two agencies remarked in an interlinear comment, "Depends on amount spent," and a third said, "Always major care if monetary relief is granted."

Planned treatment is also an influential factor in classification. Item 15 differs from Item 14 only with respect to this element; yet twenty-six agencies evidently considered this development of a plan the determining factor in classification. A similar influence appears to a marked degree in comparing Items 20 and 21. In spite of these marked trends, however, it would be difficult to formulate a definition of major care on the basis of the evidence cited in these first five columns. With regard to the distinction between "no case count" and "minor care," the tabulation is equally inconclusive. In

general it can perhaps be said that the trend is from "not a case" to "minor care" in all instances which necessitate field visits or which involve office interviews that result in transfer to another agency. What other elements, if any, enter into the decision cannot be determined from the evidence here under consideration.

Since the evidence obtained from this tabulation of the replies of all of the ninety-four agencies seemed not sufficiently uniform to justify the formulation of definitions, it appeared probable that the wide divergences in methods of classification must reflect similar disparities in the standards and practices of the agencies. Accordingly, from the ninety-four questionnaires, twenty-five were selected which had been checked by agencies reputed to have high standards of work. These questionnaires were then separately tabulated, and the results appear in Section B of Table I (columns 6 to 10 inclusive).

An examination of the figure in Items 16, 17, 18, and 26 of columns 6-10 inclusive indicates clearly that the time element does not in any appreciable degree enter into the decisions of these agencies in determining the classification of a case. Items 3 and 4, 23 and 24 point clearly to the fact that mere field visitation does not in itself cause a case to swing over from the minor to the major care column.

On the other hand the classification of nearly a fourth of these Type "B" agencies appears to be influenced by the granting of relief. Items 13 and 14 are identical except for the relief given; yet seven of the twenty-five agencies change from the minor care column in Item 13 to the major care column in Item 14, influenced, apparently, by the relief. This is the more surprising in light of the report of the Committee on Statistics of the American Association for Organizing Charity, which in 1918 outlined a similar situation as "minor service."<sup>1</sup>

Planned treatment is with this group a factor of prime importance. Items 14 and 15 are identical except for this element of setting in motion a plan of treatment, yet every agency in the group, with one exception, listed Item 15 as a major care situation, whereas nearly half considered Item 14 a minor care situation.

There is similar agreement with regard to Item 19, which clearly implies a social diagnosis. This item is listed by all but five agencies

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 73, item *dd*.

as major care; of the five which did not so list it, several had no visiting housekeeper on their staff and so checked the item either as "no case count" or as "minor care." On the other hand, social diagnosis not followed either by *plan of treatment* or by actual treatment does not in itself induce a major care classification. This point seems clearly proved by Item 5, which is obviously a diagnosed situation but which most of the agencies counted as minor care. Apparently the plan of treatment must be actually set in motion, or, as some agencies say, responsibility must be *accepted* before agencies consider the problem one of major proportions.

That the element of investigation is a determining factor is evident from a comparison of Items 20 and 21. Success or lack of success in treatment, on the contrary, seems not to enter into the consideration as indicated by Items 28 and 29.

"Acceptance of responsibility" is unquestionably of primary importance in defining major care, as indicated by the responses to Item 26. Nevertheless, that this practice is not universal, even among Type "B" agencies, is indicated by the fact that three agencies classed Item 26 as minor care and two failed to report on it.

To elicit evidence from the questionnaire as to what distinguishes minor care from that host of services which lie below the "case" level is impossible. Apparently each agency is a law unto itself in this respect, though a few general tendencies manifest themselves. Field visits, for example, cause many agencies to transfer to the minor care column situations which were recorded as "not a case" when no field visits were made. Items 1 and 2 do not differ greatly from Item 3 except for the field visit, yet only four of the twenty-five agencies called Item 3 "not a case," as compared with twenty and seventeen agencies respectively which so designated Items 1 and 2. Further evidence of similar character is revealed in Items 6 and 7; only one agency listed the former as "not a case," while thirteen agencies gave this classification to the latter.

The most significant testimony with regard to this distinction between "no case count" and "minor care" is to be found in Items 3, 23, 24, and 25. In each instance the swing into the minor care column is well-nigh unanimous. In seeking an explanation of this fact it is necessary to go back to the 1915 and 1918 reports of the Committee on Statistics of the American Association of Societies for

Organizing Charity. As indicated before, this committee agreed upon a definite list of services which should always be counted as minor care.<sup>1</sup> Items 3, 23, 24, and 25 are situations which, according to this committee's list, belong in the minor care group. Since most of these Type "B" agencies antedate 1915, they have undoubtedly been influenced by the recommendations of the committee. In only one instance (Item 14, cited previously) have the agencies tended to classify as major care a situation listed by the committee as minor care. Here the lapse is not surprising, nor does it invalidate the evidence; for in spite of all the efforts of case workers, there is a persistent tendency to overemphasize the importance of the giving of money. In spite of Item 14, the conclusion seems to be that agencies willingly accept trustworthy guidance in their statistical tabulations, and the thought at once suggests itself that a comprehensive chart might be devised which would enable case workers quickly to locate and to classify for statistical purposes any situation that might confront them.

The present-day status of the definition of minor care is such that comparisons in this category are impossible from agency to agency. The only useful function that the minor care classification now fulfils is in providing a place in which services can be listed that do not belong in major care. The following testimony submitted by a leader of long experience in the family welfare field seems to bear out this point:

There is one type of service which this distinction (major and minor care) does not make, and for which I have been pleading for a number of years. There are certain kinds of cases which, while they are literally cases for which the agency does not assume responsibility, are not even justly called minor service cases. The Red Cross category of "information only" seems to me to fit them, such as directing a client to a job, to an employment agency, to another agency. There is a whole host of that sort of service which I assume the maker of this questionnaire lists under the head of "cases not counted."

In a further attempt to determine whether a greater uniformity in classification of processes existed among certain of the co-operating agencies, a third tabulation was made which appears here in Section C (columns 11 to 15 inclusive). For the past two years the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 126 of the Committee's report for 1915. The "not under care" classification of the Committee's report is equivalent to the more recently coined term, "minor care." See also pp. 73 and 74 of the 1918 report.

agencies in this group have been reporting their statistics each month to the Russell Sage Foundation. Presumably they have had an opportunity to draw closer together in their interpretation of terms. The tabulation indicates, however, that, except in a few particulars, they have not done so. For the most part, taking into consideration the difference in the totals, Sections B and C do not vary widely.

In all three sections the variability in the replies may in some instances be explained by the necessary terseness of the case summaries. In most instances, however, the situation is described in such a way that there can be no doubt as to the meaning, and in these cases it is clear that the replies reflect variation in practice rather than in interpretation of the questionnaire. In replying to Item 5, for example, 54 agencies (Section A) classified the case as minor, 23 as major; among the selected group of 25 agencies (Section B) 18 classified the case as minor and 7 as major; while among the more highly selected group of 10 agencies (Section C) 6 called the case major and 4 classed it as minor. A similar degree of variation prevails in the replies to Items 14, 21, and 22, in which the ten selected agencies are practically evenly divided between the major care and minor care classifications.

A further analysis of Section C points to an interesting fact already suggested. Where a situation fits into a definite list, such as the one suggested by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work or the one printed on the first schedule used by the Russell Sage Foundation, the agencies without exception classify uniformly (see Items 18, 23, 24, and 25); but where a situation can be classified only by reference to a definition which is couched in general terms, the element of personal interpretation obtrudes itself and destroys the comparability of the statistics.

Of the ninety-four agencies that checked questionnaires, only thirty-six complied with the request to copy down on the last sheet the definitions they habitually use for defining "case," "major care," and "minor care." Thirteen indicated that they use the Russell Sage definitions. One agency added this comment: "We try to follow the definitions of major and minor cases agreed on in the department of statistics in the Russell Sage Foundation. Even so I feel that we are not always consistent." Four agencies frankly stated that any case involving the granting of material relief was always



classified as major care. Only two agencies said they did not attempt to differentiate between major care and minor care. One of these two agencies stated that in 1925 it definitely abandoned the use of the two terms major and minor care, and now groups its functions under the following five headings: (1) monetary, (2) service only, (3) inter-city cases, (4) forwarding center, (5) railroad clearing cases. "We find the foregoing classification very much simpler and more desirable than that of major and minor care," says this agency, "and in the end the average is the same." In analyzing this classification the question at once arises whether cases are not entered as units of equal value both under "monetary" and under "service only" which are really of unequal value and which in most agencies would fall into major and minor care respectively. In other words, there seems reason to doubt whether this fivefold classification succeeds in grouping together units of like content.

One agency sent a list of six processes which it always counts as minor care; by elimination all other cases are counted as major care. The theory underlying this method of classification is sound, but in this particular instance two criticisms may be advanced against it: (1) the list is not exhaustive, and all such lists must be exhaustive when classification is to be based upon elimination; (2) the list contains at least one process which most of the agencies, according to the questionnaires, relegate to the "no case" category.

Three agencies took the position that there is a difference between a *major problem* and *major treatment of a problem*. "The final designation as to major care," says one agency, "is not dependent upon services rendered or not rendered, but rather the decision should be based upon the seriousness of the problem and its future effect upon the family or individual if adequate service is or is not rendered. Thus we may have a major care case, such as unemployment of the father of a large family, that may be disposed of with a minor service." A second agency submitted an elaborate scheme which was represented graphically in the outline given on page 382.

Whatever may be said for the ingeniousness of this scheme, it appears to have two important weaknesses: (1) Each major case could be analyzed in three different ways and each minor case in six different ways; the complications involved in so many decisions render this system impracticable for purposes of simple statistical



measurement; (2) this system multiplies the number of terms which have not as yet been defined except in vague phraseology. For example, this agency's definition of a *major problem* is "one which is suffi-

Major case.....	{	Problem.....	Major
		Service.....	Major
	{	Result.....	{ Major Minor Zero
Minor case.....	{	Problem.....	{ Major Minor
		Service.....	Minor
	{	Result.....	{ Major Minor Zero

cient to prevent an individual or family from living up to the community's minimum standard of living." Such a definition seems certain to be interpreted differently, not only by different agencies, but also by different workers within one agency.

The position taken by these three agencies throws one question into strong relief: Should cases be classified objectively or subjectively; that is, should the importance of the problem in the client's mind determine the category, or should this decision be based upon external factors as observed and analyzed by the case worker? In the field of surgery this question has been definitely settled. An aching tooth may assume the proportions of a major catastrophe in a patient's mind, but the surgeon considers its extraction a minor operation.

As the foregoing analyses indicate, one of the fundamental problems of statistics in the family welfare field still remains to be solved. The material assembled in the present study suggests, however, several possible methods of attack.

The most obvious solution would be to make no differentiations of any kind, counting all services as units of equal value. Such a procedure would necessarily start from the assumption that the types of services obscured in the total figure would exist in the same proportions in all agencies. Not only would such an assumption be contrary to fact, as the most superficial comparison of any two agencies reveals, but also the further objection must be considered that family welfare workers would not consent to any such undifferen-

tiated measurement of their work. The instinct of craftsmanship is as strong in social work as in any other profession, and the case worker is unwilling to chalk down the relatively insignificant service as a unit equal in value to the skilful rehabilitation of a family.

The next possibility is the development of definitions that will establish clear-cut distinctions between the different categories and that will be sufficiently objective to eliminate the variability due to personal interpretation. Up to the present time no definitions have been evolved that meet these requirements. It should be said, however, that the definitions now in use undoubtedly come nearer to reflecting the facts than any of the three purely objective definitions suggested in an earlier section of this paper (p. 366).

If satisfactory definitions are evolved, it is clear from the evidence yielded by the questionnaires that the definition of major care must somehow be phrased to include the elements of (1) investigation, (2) social diagnosis, (3) institution of a plan of treatment; or, as some agencies say with the same meaning in mind, "acceptance of responsibility for continuing care."

It is also clear that if minor care is to be given meaning and is to be made comparable from agency to agency, a third category must be developed. Whether this third category be called "not a case," "incidentally served," or "slight service" is immaterial; the important thing is that it serve to protect the minor care classification from invasion by items that do not belong there.

The desirable solution, of course, is the development of scientifically adequate definitions. Since this goal appears not to be immediately attainable, the pragmatic line of procedure would seem to be in the direction of classificatory charts. Such charts would have to be comprehensive and would have to be framed in convenient fashion so that the case worker, by quick reference, could locate and classify a process before entering it on the statistical sheet. If this plan should be worked out, social workers would not be the first professional group to adopt such a scheme. For many years the medical profession has recognized the need for comprehensive lists of diseases in which the diagnosis needs only to be located to be classified. These lists have been highly useful, not only for reporting causes of death to the Bureau of Vital Statistics; but also for purposes of internal administration of hospitals.

It has been said that the development of classificatory charts was simple in the medical field because a vocabulary of diagnostic terms was already at hand. No such vocabulary exists in the field of social work, yet in the final analysis a diagnostic term is merely the substitution of one word for many. The term "tuberculosis" is convenient, but it is not more explicit than a detailed description of the disease would be. Social work is now struggling to develop a scientific vocabulary, but for the present must be content with the more cumbersome method of description. There is no good reason to believe, however, that workable charts cannot be devised long before the ultimate vocabulary emerges.

Meantime, pending the formulation of such classificatory charts, the following definitions, while admittedly unsatisfactory statistically, will probably come nearer to representing units of comparable content than any of the purely objective definitions thus far devised: (1) A case is any family or individual for whom the agency attempts a service and keeps a separate record. (2) A major care case is one in which the agency, after investigation, makes a social diagnosis and institutes a plan of treatment. (3) A minor care case is one in which the agency does not accept complete responsibility for social diagnosis and social treatment. (4) A "no case count" is an instance of advice, information, or other service of which no individualized record is kept.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the demand for comparable statistics in the family welfare field is insistent throughout the country. No one recommends, of course, that one inflexible statistical system be devised for every agency to follow. The basic data once established, each agency would be free to compile whatever supplementary statistics it might need for its own peculiar local purposes. Certain basic counts, however, are indispensable, and should be made in precisely the same way by every agency in this field. Until this objective is attained, comparison of figures between agencies or between cities can be little better than a rough approximation.

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## NEGRO HOME WORKERS IN CHICAGO

IT IS now recognized that one result of the change in our American immigration policy is the migration of thousands of Negroes, men and women, from the towns, villages, and plantations of the South to the industrial centers of the North. The factory employment of both men and women in northern cities has been much discussed, and in the following pages an attempt is made to set out the situation with reference to the less conspicuous employment of Negro women in occupations where the work can be done at home.

Home work is an old problem in Chicago, where it has been characterized by features that have generally made it antisocial. It depends in the first place upon an unorganized, and in general an unorganizable, labor supply. The workers are isolated, without knowledge of the market, and generally rendered industrially helpless by their domestic obligations and by their industrial connection with men whose occupations are likewise unskilled and unorganized. The work requires no skill that cannot be acquired fairly rapidly, no elaborate machinery, and is generally seasonal, so that the cost of rent, heat, and light and the risks of irregular employment are shifted from the employer to the worker.

The abolition of home work in connection with the clothing industry was one of the issues in the great industrial conflicts of the period 1910-17. The addition of large numbers of Negro women<sup>1</sup> of the industrial character described has made it more difficult to keep some of the gains of those struggles and has tempted other employers to develop industry based on this method of organization. The manufacture of such articles as silk lamp shades and artificial flowers requires little capital for their initiation by the employer. The simple processes employed are easily learned. Little or no equipment is needed, and the work can be carried on in the home.

<sup>1</sup> Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population in Chicago increased from 44,103 to 109,458, and within a period of a year and a half in 1917-18 more than 50,000 Negroes came to Chicago (see *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations (University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 79.

Home workers are employed in women's and children's dresses, aprons, caps, underwear, millinery, stringing tags, paper flowers, china-painting, finishing furs, beading, embroidery, artificial flowers, and lamp shades. In an attempt to obtain the facts with reference to the present employment of Negro women in home-working jobs, more than two hundred workers from the different occupations were interviewed and schedules were taken from one hundred of them covering such questions as rates of pay, earnings, hours of work, and reasons for doing home work. In addition an attempt was made to discover something of the economic condition of the worker, the part she played in family support, and other sources of income on which she could rely. Because of the recent migration of so many Negroes

TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYERS OF HOME WORK BY INDUSTRIES

Kind of Industry	Number of Employers	Number of Employees
Lamp shades.....	28	65
Contractors and branch factories.....	3	
Artificial flowers.....	4	31
Contractor.....	1	
China-painting.....	1	1
Beading and embroidery.....	2	2
Wholesale furriers.....	1	1
Totals.....	40	100

into Chicago it was considered valuable to consider the facts regarding length of residence in Chicago, the place of birth of the worker and of the worker's parents. The hundred women from whom schedules were obtained were employed by forty different firms or contractors. Table I shows their distribution among the industries.

One of the women, in addition to making lamp shades, worked on sofa pillows and aprons at home.

These industries, as has been suggested, lend themselves easily to home production by virtue of the semiskilled processes and meager equipment involved. However, they require monotonous and also onerous tasks, prolonged application, and generally some degree of care, accuracy, and artistry, the nature of which must be understood in order to furnish an idea of the lack of relation between

the work done and the remuneration received. Because of this the succeeding pages attempt to describe the processes involved in the home manufacture of the products just listed. They are described in the order followed in Table I.

*Lamp shades.*—The extensive manufacture of silk lamp shades is something relatively recent. Chicago, an important center of the industry, is overrun with shops that in the busy season employ hundreds of Negro women.

The work done by the home workers in the lamp shade industry is generally of two types: (1) covering of shades with muslin for making what is known as the parchelite shade and (2) making of the various kinds of silk shades. The first process is relatively simple. First the wire frame must be carefully wrapped with tape or strips of cloth corresponding to tape. With this type of shade, usually only top and bottom wires and two side spokes need to be wrapped. The tape must be wrapped firmly and tightly, else when the next operation is performed the tape slips and has to be taken off and rewrapped. The second step is the stretching of the muslin. This must be pulled until it is tight like a drumhead. No wrinkles may be left, however complicated the shape is. This ends the home worker's job on these shades. They are returned to the factory and treated with shellac or varnish to give the effect of parchment, painted by the artist, and finally passed to the inside worker who finishes them with braid, ruching, beads, or some kind of binding or trimming.

Silk lamp shades may be covered with georgette, taffeta, lace, or other kind of silk material and lined with silk, sateen or rayon. In addition to the inner lining there is generally a second lining, whose weight and quality depends on the effect desired, the costliness of outside materials, and other factors. For instance, in some of the shades outing flannel is used as the mid-layer in order to soften the light. Where lace is employed to cover the shade, georgette is frequently used as a background and the shade may still have two more linings.

Home workers are usually seen with the cheaper shades with simple georgette exterior and linings of inexpensive silk, sateen, or rayon. This is especially true of the home worker who does full-time home work, although the worker in the factory who brings only a



few shades home in the evening says that as a rule she is not allowed to bring the better shades out.

The shade most frequently seen in the homes of the workers is a pleated georgette shade. The wires are wrapped first, then the outer lining stretched tightly over this. Sometimes the lining is sewed and slipped over the frame. Again, it may be wound about the two opposite side wires and secured tightly to them. Then the georgette is applied. Other methods of putting on a pleated silk cover have been adopted by some firms, some intended to insure accuracy, some to insure speed. Some of the processes are very difficult. Nearly every operation on a lamp shade, in fact, requires accuracy, strength, and a certain artistry.

There are some especially interesting facts about the organization of the lamp shade industry to which attention should be called.

About five years ago the silk lamp shade industry flourished so vigorously that shrewd employers conceived the idea of bringing the work into the Chicago Black Belt, where labor was plentiful and cheap. They transferred work from the factory to the homes of some of their trusted employees, where they would no longer have the cost of overhead and their management could be paid on a commission basis.

One of the largest of the lamp-shade manufacturers has been responsible for most of the shops on the South Side. Mrs. A, who ran a branch factory five years for this company, tells her own story of how the system began:

The business began in a dirty hardware store on Thirty-fifth Street. They opened in May and were there for six months. From there they moved to a more suitable room on Michigan nearer the loop, and the next spring to a still more desirable place. The white floor lady was very disagreeable to colored people. Mrs. A objected to her manner and was reported. One of the members of the firm told her: "You're a leader. The best thing for you to do is to start a shop of your own." So Mrs. A took out the furniture in two rooms in her home and put up some long tables and began a "branch factory." Each year she had thirty-five girls in the shop. The output was from 210 to 365 shades a week.

It was very difficult to make colored girls understand that a colored woman could be fair to them. When she received a new design for a shade she timed herself or her sister on one. If the rate was fair she gave the work out; if not, she would not allow a shade to be made until the factory agreed to raise the rate, even if it were no more than five or ten cents. She would say, "You'll have to



send for these shades. I'll not be guilty of giving them to the girls." When the manager said, "You get your commission. That will not interfere with you," she would reply, "I can't be guilty of taking bread out of children's mouths."

Mrs. A's commission was from ten to thirty cents on a shade. This aggregated \$35 to \$50 a week. In the busy months of November and December she made \$75-\$91 a week. When the season was over, she shut the shop up and sent the girls out to get a job, as she knew they could not make a living wage in a branch factory in a dull season.

The women who worked for her made from \$15 to \$37.45 a week. She can remember a shade which paid \$1.25, of which some girls could make seven in a day. Her aged father wrapped the shades. The girls found how much it helped and paid him five cents a shade for wrapping.

Mrs. A had to assemble her materials for the shades, so that long after the workers had gone she was preparing materials for the next day's work. In addition she had to keep accounts and make out pay-rolls.

Mrs. A did not run a shop in 1926; but in July, 1927, she took the furniture out of her dining-room and one bedroom, placed two long tables in each room, and the "branch factory" was open again. When the investigator called, the remaining bedroom and all the vacant space in the kitchen and workrooms were occupied by dozens of frames with a tiny bundle of material tied to each, out of which the workers were rapidly evolving finished shades. She had just sent out the third batch of finished shades that had gone out in four days. On Monday 165 shades were delivered; on Wednesday, 148; and on Thursday, 158. The shop had thirty-eight workers on its pay-roll at that time. The shop had been in operation for four weeks. The first week it put out work that brought the operators only \$12; the fifth week the pay-roll was \$249.15; the sixth week she expected it to be nearly \$300.

About ten women were working to the strident accompaniment of the radio. The women seemed to appreciate the freedom of the branch factory. The features that appealed to those who were communicative was the proximity of the factory to their homes, the freedom to come and go at any time, and with beginners, the op-

portunity to learn. Late in the afternoon Mary Jones, an expert shade-maker, rushed into the factory and plunged into work at top speed. Mary Jones, twenty-five years old and single, is an expert shade-maker, but she has discovered that it does not pay in wages what it takes out in toil, so she spends most of the day at a beauty-culture school and four hours a day on lamp shades in order to support herself while she prepares for another trade. The branch factory fits into her scheme admirably.

Mrs. A claims to have always run her shop on a commission basis, with the factory paying the commission. Her prices are the same as the factory prices except in case of shades trimmed with expensive flowers that the factory fears may be lost. She will not open a branch unless the employer contracts for her under conditions of a printed list and commission over and above the regular prices. On the wall is the typewritten list with the numbers of shades and the rates for each, which the workers may consult.

Mrs. A "would not run a shop like Mrs. B's." Mrs. B, passing Mrs. A's shop day after day, conceived the idea of going into the business herself. She made an agreement with the same employer. Mrs. A inspected the shop twice a week. At the end of the busy season Mrs. B contracted with other manufacturers for making shades at \$25, \$30, \$50 a hundred, and in order "to get her own" out of such a contract, had to pay the workers abominable rates. This is Mrs. A's testimony. But Mrs. B tells her own story.

Mrs. B ran a branch factory for —— in 1924. She renovated the basement of her home, put tables and lights in it to the satisfaction of the manufacturer, and employed from fourteen to twenty girls to make lamp shades. This enterprise was shared with a friend who later went into a shop. During this year an instructor was employed to teach the women how to make shades. Later she was not needed, as there were enough experienced sewers.

The commissions during this first year were astounding. For the year 1924 and the fall of 1925 they were as follows: When the rates were from twenty-five to forty cents, the commission was fifteen cents; when the rates were from forty to sixty-five cents, the commission was twenty cents; when the rates were sixty-five cents or more, the commission was twenty-five cents.

The price for "outside" workers was the same as that for inside workers. The work was very satisfactory. The hours of work were from 8 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. Earnings of her workers during the busy season averaged \$15. By taking home work this could be increased to from \$18 to \$25 a week. The busy season lasted from the latter part of August to the latter part of November in the fall, and from January 1 to Easter in the spring. The branch was open only in the busy season.

At the end of the first year the employer discontinued the branch. Then Mrs. B began taking in large quantities of shades from manufacturers who would give them in bulk. She secured from 200 to 500 shades from each of three lamp-shade manufacturers. She handled 800 to 1,000 shades a week. Most of the time these shades were delivered. In order that she might be compensated for her labor and expense, the firms at first paid five or ten cents more than the factory rate on each shade. The women who had worked in the branch factory continued to work under this new scheme. Later, factory prices were paid Mrs. B, and she had to "get her own" out of this rate. This she did by taking five to ten cents off the price of each shade, except in the case of those for which only from twenty to thirty cents was paid. On these she received nothing, as she felt the rates were too low to allow of further deduction.

In the fall of 1926 Mrs. B changed her system to an all home-work basis. She had sixty-two home workers who came every morning at ten o'clock, returning shades made the day before and securing a new supply. The home workers averaged as much as, if not more, than those who had worked in her basement workshop. From August to November, 1926, she handled 1,000-1,200 shades a week. At the end of that season she stopped because of pregnancy.

Prices have declined greatly since she tried this experiment. For instance, a shade that paid at the rate of \$2.50 in 1924 was reduced to ninety cents in 1926. She has known girls to work an hour for ten cents. She would often return shades on account of the ridiculously low prices. She thinks that the great supply of experienced workers and the increase of shade manufacturers have ruined the industry. Notwithstanding this change of conditions she still thinks that her enterprise would have great possibilities if she renewed it.

These two women seem to have made the leading "branch factory" experiments, but there were and are smaller attempts by lamp-shade makers to extend their earnings by using the other workers to advantage.

The branch factories, however, are not "sweat shops" in the full sense of the word. Judging from the description of the garment shops that flourished at an earlier date in the foreign sections of Chicago, their successors in the lamp-shade industry are models of sanitation and cleanliness. In fact, they are superior to many of the inside shops in which shades are made. Doubtless the workers have suffered in rates at the hands of the contractor, but their most harmful influence has been (directly or indirectly) to increase the number of experienced workers and thus lower the competitive power of the group.

*Artificial flower making.*—Home work in the making of artificial flowers consists principally of two general processes: (1) the making of leaves and petals of such flowers whose parts must be handmade; and (2) the combining of parts prepared in the factory into flowers.

Silk and silk ribbon and organdie are the materials used in making parts out of the factory. A small square of silk two to four inches square is folded diagonally, pleated at the bottom, and held in position by a wire twisted around the base. This is known as a leaf. If the same square is rolled instead of pleated, it is called a bud. If the same square has a small length of milliner's wire applied at one corner, the cloth rolled tightly on the wire until half of the material is wound upon it, the ends of the triangle thus formed drawn in, the material pleated across the bottom and held firmly with a fine wire, it becomes a rolled leaf. Rolled leaves are made of silk or organdie.

Another kind of leaf is made of ribbon. Ribbon, about a half-inch wide and three to five inches long, is arranged so as to produce an apex with a vein down the middle (made by sewing the inner margins together); this is wrapped at the base with the inevitable wire, and the leaf is complete. There are also ribbon flowers of different patterns and sizes. The most common variety is one made of ribbon, gathered on a fine wire, wound about a small bunch of stamens. A more difficult ribbon flower is made by sewing ribbon in

concentric circles on a small circle of buckram. A bunch of stamens is inserted in the center of this flower also.

Frequently the wires from these parts are wrapped with rubber tissue or tricotine to give a finish to stems before they are returned to the factory for "branching" (assembling the parts into a finished product).

Rosettes are made of strips of silk folded and sewed on a crinoline base. They were formerly made of bias strips of silk with raw edges which had to be folded under as the rosette was made. Recently, however, the employer who manufactured these decided to use narrower strips left from another product made in the shop. These strips were sewed and turned before they were issued to home workers, but this method proved to be unsatisfactory. It required much longer to fold the strips to hide the seam than it did to hide the raw edges when wider material was provided.

*China painting.*—Under the dates of January 1, 8, and 15, 1927, the following advertisement was printed in one of the leading Negro newspapers:

Ladies do home work. Easy. 10-12 P.M., Monday, at  
—— Cottage Grove Avenue.

Applicants at this address were told to report to a loop address during the same week to learn how to paint china. Materials for instruction would cost ten dollars. A deposit at this visit would be welcomed.

The investigator found only one person who had followed up this advertisement. The work consisted of transferring figures from a transfer paper to the china, following this with several coats of fixatives and varnish. The interviewed person claimed to have paid \$21.60 for her lessons and materials. In six months she had earned \$10. She estimated her possibilities of hourly earnings at fifteen cents.

*Beading and embroidery.*—Beading is of two kinds, crochet and hand, and is applied to dresses, blouses, hats, and lace or medallions for trimming garments. The crochet beading is done with a crochet hook on stamped material mounted on a frame. The crocheting is done from the back of the frame. Hand beading needs no explanation. Both processes are taxing on the eyes.

Embroidery is also applied to women's and children's garments. The prevalence of home workers in both of these trades depends upon the fashion for certain kinds of trimming.

*Fur finishing.*—In visiting a shade-maker the investigator accidentally found fur finishing going on in a home. After the furs had been cut and pieced the worker, who was an inside<sup>1</sup> worker also, brought the garment home to complete it with such operations as lining, inserting loops, and taping seams. This was a much more challenging and varied task than any other type of home work, but, considering the state of organization of the trade and the skill required, was, on the whole, less satisfactory than the other work.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO WORKER

Reference has been made to the effort to secure facts with reference to their history and their migration from the South from the one hundred women giving schedules. Eighty of these were in fact born in southern states, fifty-seven in states within the Black Belt; eleven were from northern states, and five from states in the "Middle Border."<sup>2</sup>

The interviews with workers were had and the schedules taken during the year 1926-27; and by that time many had lived a considerable period in Chicago. In fact, two-thirds had been in the city as long as five years; while twenty-nine had been in the city less than five years, twenty-one had been here ten years or longer.

Ninety-five of the hundred lived on the South Side, the other five on the West Side. They lived in all sorts of dwellings, from the spacious apartments on the boulevards to the ancient and dilapidated houses in the neighborhood just west of State Street, without bath or sanitary plumbing. Some of the homes were found on alleys or in remodeled garages in the rear of other dwellings. One was an attic apartment, and four were in basements. Twenty-nine of the workers were rooming. Sixteen of these were married women, twelve single, and one an unmarried woman with two children. Rents paid by seventeen of the twenty-nine persons in "rooms" ranged from \$5

<sup>1</sup> That is, she also worked in the factory.

<sup>2</sup> The facts with reference to the birthplaces of their parents show a greater proportion of southern origin. Those details are, however, omitted because of lack of space.



to \$7.50. Four paid \$5 a week; two \$5.50; four, \$6; one, \$6.25; three, \$6.50; one, \$7; and two, \$7.50. Forty-four of the homes in which these women lived are reported as having lodgers, and it is probable that more than half depend on income from roomers to enable them to pay the high rents they must meet.

However, if the conditions in which they were found are thought of in comparison with the standards of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Budget of Health and Decency, they must be considered on the whole favorable, for sixty-seven of the one hundred families lived under conditions in which there was not more than one person to a room, excluding the bathroom.<sup>1</sup> As a whole, in fact, housing conditions among these families were fairly good for the poorer neighborhoods such as State, Dearborn, and La Salle, growing better in such regions as Vernon, Rhodes, and Calumet (between Thirty-first and Thirty-fifth streets), showing standards equally good on Prairie, Calumet, Wabash, and Indiana (south of Forty-seventh and north of Fifty-fifth), and reaching their most favorable levels in such sections as on South Parkway, Michigan Boulevard, and Forrestville Avenue. There were homes that were exceedingly well, one might say luxuriously, furnished. In the home in which one of the flower-makers lived with her sister and niece, there was a grand piano in a very attractive room. Most of the homes were comfortably equipped, and only a very few were filthy or revolting. In fact, there were really only two homes that were unpleasant.

The question of age is interesting because of the general employment of women with children and of the children themselves. The ages of the home workers ranged from sixteen to fifty-five years. Fifty-one women, more than one-half of the whole number studied, are between twenty and thirty-six years old. No child home worker younger than sixteen was discovered, although one girl aged sixteen had been carrying a heavy load of home work for four years while she was still in school. Younger children in a few families did, however, assist those who were employed as home workers.

What bearing, one might ask, if any, did their former occupa-

<sup>1</sup> "Minimum Quantity Budget Necessary to Maintain a Worker's Family of Five in Health and Decency," *United States Monthly Labor Review*, X (June, 1920), 1317.



tions have on the work of these women? Sixteen out of eighty-one who replied to the question about former occupation had never done any work before. Four of these sixteen had come from school into home work. The remaining sixty-five had been employed in a variety of jobs. For example, five had been in home dressmaking; twenty-five had been in other divisions of the sewing trades; five had been in factory work; eight, in mercantile occupations; eleven, in domestic and personal service; two, in agriculture; two, in clerical jobs; one, nursing; five, teaching; and one, in hairdressing.

Almost half of them had been engaged in some kind of needlework before they began sewing for a factory at home. For the most part, though, they had been employed in the simpler and unorganized branches of the needle trades. One woman had been a garment-finisher in a union shop. Another woman had worked for six years for one of the largest and best known of the wholesale millinery manufacturers, who, during and shortly after the war, offered one of the desirable places for Negro women seeking employment. For several years the firm had successively reduced its Negro force until in 1927, when some of the workers reported that the South Side branch would be discontinued and all Negro inside workers would be dismissed.

A group of five power-machine operators do not represent the women who make fine women's garments in shops. Two of them had been employed on power machines in laundries. For two years one of these women did mending and darning in a laundry at eleven dollars a week. She left because of low wages. Still another of the power-machine operators, one of the most capable artificial flower-makers, with relatively high weekly earnings, had been an operator in a notoriously cheap apron and house-dress factory, where she earned \$9 weekly plus a bonus of forty-five cents a week. Three women, former mail order clerks, belonged to that force of Negro women who were not able to keep their places at the end of the war period of labor scarcity.

It is not uncommon to find women who were teachers in the South employed in factory work in a northern city. In many localities in the South a very low minimum of training is required of Negro teachers, so that it is not surprising to find them less effective in se-

curing work in a big city than some of the other migrants. However, it is not always an educational disqualification that drives a person who has previously been engaged in work of a higher social rating into a much less reputable occupation. One school teacher is a forelady in a flower and novelty shop at a salary beyond what she enjoyed as a teacher in the South. In addition she brings work home in the evening which increases her earnings.

One of the most vigorous and untiring of the home workers interviewed had been a school teacher in southern Indiana; but the small city and her job irked her, and she sought adventure in the lampshade industry of Chicago. If her stories are any index of her success, she certainly profited by the change. She went from shop to shop finding what new problem each offered. She became acquainted with the conditions in each important factory in the city. She told how wire screens and cardboard partitions designed to protect white and Negro workers from each other dissolved before the common interests of the workers. Always she was able to find from her side of the barrier what rates were being paid on the other.

There were doubtless more, but two women only said that they had had their first employment on the farm. One of these in answer to the query why she made lamp shades at home replied: "Because I have to; I am a lazy woman." She was born in Louisiana thirty years ago. She worked very hard on the farm. Before dawn she was milking the cows in order to escape the pest of flies. She milked so fast the butter came, she said. She married to escape the drudgery of the farm. Then she and her husband migrated from Louisiana to Texas, from Texas to Oklahoma, from there to Arizona, then to St. Louis, and Cairo, and finally, seven years ago, to Chicago. In the busy season she makes \$38-\$39 a week. She receives \$18 a week as salary for instructing in a lamp-shade shop, and the remainder she earns by piece work at home. The dull seasons with their total or partial lack of work are disconcerting to her.

Another worker from Pecan Point, Arkansas, when asked what her former work was, answered: "What did I do? Lawd! I chopped and picked cotton."

The marital status of any group of women workers is always important. Of ninety-eight women giving information on this point,

sixty-three were married; six, widowed; two, divorced; three, separated; one, deserted; and twenty-three, single. Approximately two-thirds of the number studied were married. This large proportion of married women in this group is not surprising in view of (1) the seasonal and fluctuating character of the industries, providing a source of income which is uncertain and which as a rule cannot be relied upon as a primary means of subsistence, but only for a supplementary income; and (2) the irregular and poorly paid work in which their husbands are engaged.

To summarize, it may be said: (1) The great number of these women workers are migrants from the South. (2) The length of residence in Chicago of these women extended from less than a year (six months) to twenty-eight years, more than two-thirds having lived in the city five years or more. (3) The rents paid are relatively high. (4) The housing conditions are fairly good. (5) Their ages center around twenty to thirty-five, and there are relatively few extremely young or old workers in the group. (Child labor will be discussed later.) (6) They had been formerly employed in unskilled or semiskilled occupations. (7) They present a favorable employment record from the point of view of length of time with their present employer. (8) They have had considerable experience at home work.

One of the universally characteristic features of home work is the system of piece-work wages and the general necessity of working long hours. In the following paragraphs an effort is made to set out the facts with reference to the wages, earnings, and hours of work of this group.

The products of the industries and the influences affecting them are so different that each industry will have to be dealt with separately in order to give the reader a true picture of the situation. None of the industries involves more tedious and relatively unprofitable operations than beading. The worker invests in a frame and supply of needles; the employer furnishes beads, threads, and materials.

Mrs. W, who has been beading for years, had an elaborately beaded dress on the frame when the investigator called. She said it would take her two days of eight hours each to complete such a dress and that she would probably receive \$5.50 or \$6 for it. "You

know they pay as little as they can," she said. She expected the manufacturer to offer her the lower price. Maybe she could get six dollars if she were insistent enough.

Mrs. R, who has been in the industry for three years, spoke of doing two beaded dresses, at the rate of \$2.75 each, in a day and a half. Embroidered dresses, she thought, were much easier and pay better. She could finish three embroidered dresses between 9 A.M. and 4 P.M., and for this work received \$9.

Mrs. S tried beading in the last four months of 1926. She beaded dresses made of georgette crepe at the rate of \$2.25, \$3, and \$4.50 each. It took all of two days to bead a \$3 dress. She earned \$6-\$6.50 a week. She grew tired of this and resorted to day work at \$5 a day.

The artificial flower industry produces a more standardized product and therefore a greater opportunity for consistent rate setting than either lamp shades or beading and embroidery. In spite of this there is in some cases no relation between payment and work involved, although some parts show a much fairer and more stable price. To illustrate the differences in hourly earnings for different flower parts made in the home, take the figures given by a sixteen-year-old girl who worked for four years with the same firm, whose hourly earnings varied from 25 cents, making leaves at 25 cents a gross, to \$1 for making rosettes at \$6 a gross. The time required to complete a gross varied from thirty-five minutes in the case of petals, which were paid for at the rate of 35 cents a gross, so that 60 cents could be earned in an hour, to six hours in the case of rosettes, which were paid for at the rate of \$6 a gross, so that \$1 could be earned in an hour.

Another employee of the same firm, a woman of fifty-two, with an experience of one year and four months in flower-making, earned from 22½ cents, making roses at \$2.25 a gross, to \$2, making rosettes at \$4 a gross.

A comparison of the experience of these two women illustrates, not only the differences in hourly earnings for the same worker, but also differences in rates paid to two different workers. Before the season had ended workers reported that rosettes that had been paid for at \$4 had been reduced to \$2.50, and yet women had come into the shop begging for work at the lower prices.

These reports show wide divergences in hourly rates discovered, but an employee of another firm, nineteen years of age, who had been three and a half years with the firm, furnished interesting figures which can perhaps be best set out in tabular form (Table II).

From Table II it can be seen what effect the rate at which the work can be done has on the earnings, and how little the nominal rates of pay indicate the worker's earnings.

The last three items in the list are illustrative, too, of another characteristic in rate-setting in these industries. For products of similar workmanship but graduated size the employer is likely to set a rate in proportion to size (and probable selling price) rather

TABLE II

Kind or Part of Flower	Rate per Gross (Cents)	Hours Required to Complete Gross	Hourly Earnings (Cents)
Leaves			
Small . . . . .	30	$\frac{1}{2}$	60
Ombray . . . . .	48	$1\frac{1}{2}$	32
Rolled petals . . . . .	30	1	30
Buds			
4-inch . . . . .	48	$1\frac{1}{2}$	32
5-inch . . . . .	60	$1\frac{1}{2}$	40
9-inch . . . . .	84	$1\frac{1}{2}$	50

than in proportion to time or energy required to make the article. This is often the case with lamp shades, so that women try to get larger rather than smaller shades.

The most striking incongruity in rates was shown by those paid for a ribbon rosette in which the ribbon is gathered and sewed on a crinoline base. On a first visit to a home worker she was engaged in making these flowers at the rate of twenty-five cents a gross. At this rate the woman was able to earn nine cents in an hour. It is true she was an inexperienced flower-maker, but she had made hats for six years, at which she earned \$30-\$35 a week during the peak of good wages and averaged as much as \$15 a week in the period just before she stopped. But before the next visit the rate of pay for this flower had been reduced twice, once to eighteen and then to fifteen cents a gross, when the worker had given up in desperation.

A very efficient and reliable home worker, who had been four

years with the same firm, was paid thirty-five cents a gross in the winter of 1926 for work for which other workers received five cents less per gross. However, she was denied that concession after a five weeks' rest taken when she had been diagnosed at a dispensary as tubercular.

There is not the continual complaint of catastrophic cuts in rates among flower-makers that one hears always when lamp shades are discussed. However, there are cuts registered by the workers, as has been indicated. One flower-maker said that for rolling petals, for which she had two years before received sixty cents, she now was paid thirty cents; and for making "cups," for which she had earlier been paid forty cents, she was later paid thirty cents.

Nineteen of thirty-one women engaged in flower-making were able to give some clue to their hourly earnings. These estimated earnings ranged from nine cents to the high level of \$2.

The estimates given often seem inconsistent when compared with the hours of work per week reported by the same person. For example, a woman who claimed to be able to make two gross of rolled petals in an hour at thirty cents a gross should at this rate make sixty cents an hour. In a week of fifty-four hours her earnings on rolled petals should be \$32.40; but as a matter of fact, even with the help of two daughters of fifteen and sixteen years of age, respectively, who worked with her after school hours, her maximum earnings are \$25 a week. Another worker reported hourly earnings of sixty cents, but in a fifty-four hour week drew only \$10. Of course, earnings are influenced by the kind of flower the worker is able to secure, but persistent workers usually get the same kind again and again, and, in all probability, the kind they prefer. An error in their estimates doubtless arises from the fact that they time themselves at top speed and are unable to sustain such rapid work over a period of time.

From the thirty-one flower-makers, twenty-nine estimates of weekly earnings were obtained: five, who worked from fifteen to twenty-four hours, earned less than \$5; five, who worked from twenty-four to thirty-six hours, earned likewise less than \$5; six, who worked from forty-eight to seventy-two hours, earned between \$5 and \$10, while six, who worked between forty-five and sixty



hours, earned \$10; three, who worked forty-two hours, earned between \$10 and \$15, while seven, who worked between forty-eight and sixty hours, earned between \$15 and \$25.

A pay-roll for one week was secured from the largest and most regular of the flower-manufacturing concerns. Twenty-three of the home workers were in the employ of this company. Two of the women in this list were Italian. The earnings ranged from \$1.88 to \$21; only five earned \$6 or more; and six earned less than \$4; three earned under \$3; three earned between \$3 and \$4; two, between \$4 and \$5; and three, between \$5 and \$6; one earned as much as \$21.

All these industries are to some degree seasonal. The beading and embroidery season corresponds to the seasons for making women's garments and millinery. The seasons for lamp shades will be left for a later discussion. Artificial flowers at one time were made in months corresponding to the millinery season, but with the increasing use of flowers and novelties for boutonnieres, for trimming dresses, lamp shades, and pillows, some employers are able to extend their season for inside work practically the year round. Only eight of the home workers in artificial flowers claimed that they could secure work the entire year. The tendency in all these industries seems to be to reduce the number of workers so that those working can be busy all the time, rather than to divide up the work among the whole group.

The shops in these businesses are small and work must be done as ordered. A forelady in one of the shops, describing the way such a system works out told how in the spring of 1926 there was no work for anyone, when some fertile mind conceived the idea that velvet lilies would look well on the coats of the visitors to the Eucharistic Congress. Then thousands of lilies were made, and the shop was as busy as it had been idle.

Rate-setting is much more of a problem in the lamp-shade industry than in the manufacture of artificial flowers. Every order for a shade is different from every other order. Styles change as rapidly as the styles of women's dresses. In fact, in a season shades seem to have as strong a resemblance to a fundamental pattern and as wide a variation from it as women's dresses have to a prevailing type in a given season. With such a variety of shades, with an industry so



disorganized in the hands of small employers, with a labor supply totally unorganized, it is inconceivable that reasonable prices should be paid. As quickly as an employee achieves speed in making a certain shade she is given a different kind and must develop speed on a new operation or a modification of the first. Every time the mass of workers in a shop have pushed their wages up to a better level they are reduced to lower rates and to the necessity of still more speed. Nearly every worker knows that after samples are exhibited at the Furniture Mart, twice a year, a reduction of rates is to be expected. One shade-maker said: "Factories often figure selling prices without considering cost of girls' labor, so that rates have to be cut in order to secure any profit for the employer."

There is not a lamp-shade maker of more than one season's experience who does not testify to the regular cuts in rates of payment for shades each season. Mrs. B, who was making forty shades weekly at twenty-five cents each early in January, was making the same shade for twenty cents in the latter part of February and could secure only enough twenty-cent and fifteen-cent shades to make \$4.50 a week instead of the former \$10, the sole income of a family consisting of the wife (home worker), unemployed husband, and two children.

Rates paid for lamp shades as reported by home workers range from ten cents to \$4. The home worker usually does the work at the lower end of the scale. Shades paying high rates are usually of very expensive materials, and except in rare instances are not allowed to be taken out of the shop. In the entire investigation the writer never saw a shade for which the maker expected to receive more than \$1.50. The most interesting fact in the matter of rates on lamp shades is the wide variety in size and quality of workmanship for which the same rate is obtainable. For instance, one worker may lay every pleat and take every stitch in a silk lamp shade in exactly the right place. The result is very pleasing to the eye. Another shade-maker may throw similar materials together and call it a shade. Both will receive the same price. Or again, a shade paid for at the rate of twenty cents may be made of one piece of material, which may be drawn over the base of the frame and drawn to the top, thus forming both lining and cover, and secured in two opera-

tions. Another shade at the same rate may have lining and cover of different materials to be arranged on frame differently (e.g., lining Shirred, top pleated), requiring a great deal more time and labor. These illustrations could be multiplied many times, testifying to the unstandardized condition of the industry.

Because of the wide variety in shades, estimates of hourly earnings were obtained with more difficulty in this industry than from the home workers in the artificial-flower trade. Here, too, there is plainly a tendency to estimate hourly earnings from top-speed activity rather than from work done over a period of time.

Estimates of their hours and earnings were obtained from eighteen shade-makers. Of eighteen women, five worked less than forty-five hours a week; five, between forty-five and fifty; and seven, more than fifty, their earnings range from between \$6 and \$9 to \$28 a week.

Three other women who were unable to estimate the hours spent weekly designated the time spent by saying they worked night and day during the busy season. That means that they work every minute it is possible for them to keep awake. These three were able to earn in a week, with such a schedule, respectively \$5 to \$6, \$18, and \$20. One of these women, describing work at rush periods, said: "When I work hard on shades, I do not want to see anyone when I am through. I prepare some cold food and begin work. I work a little and eat a little. I do most of my work at night. I am a nervous wreck and cannot sleep anyhow. Frequently I work all night until the work is done. I pack the work up; then I sleep a few hours before I take it to the factory. Once last winter I made \$42 in seven days. Another time I made \$36 in three days. I only slept about two hours a day in those three days."

Another of these tireless workers said she never really went to bed in the rush season. She would work as long as she could, and when she was too sleepy to work any more, lie down without removing her clothing and get a short nap and begin again. As some of the home workers were employed in the factory as well as at home, a list of their estimates is given (Table III) as possibly the best evidence of the unregulated character of their employment.

The data indicate that there is little correlation between hours of work and earnings, and this is borne out by observation and by the testimony of the women engaged in this work. So many factors

enter into determining the amount that any individual may make, e.g., experience and inherent ability for swift motion, ability to devise short cuts or new methods, kind of shade, time spent in factory waiting for materials and inspection, and so forth. The rates of pay and earnings of these women are not seen in their true light unless the seasonal nature of employment in these industries is taken into consideration. Lamp-shade makers share with the employees

TABLE III  
ESTIMATES OF WEEKLY HOURS AND EARNINGS OF EIGHTEEN  
HOME AND FACTORY WORKERS

WORKER	WEEKLY HOURS			WEEKLY EARNINGS (Dollars)
	Factory	Home	Total*	
1.....	35	9	44	12
2.....	34	12	46	13
3.....	40	6	46	12-23
4.....	39	10	49	15-18
5.....	44	6	50	12-15
6.....	45	9	54	13
7.....	44	10	54	25
8.....	49	9	58	10-25
9.....	44	15	59	28-30
10.....	44	16	60	10
11.....	40	25	65	10-12
12.....	42½	25	67½	15
13.....	47½	20	67½	35
14.....	50	18	68	5-6
15.....	47½	24	71½	13.50
16.....	48	14	62	19-30
17.....	49	25	74	28-30
18.....	45	42	87	22

\*List arranged according to total number of hours.

of the flower industry the uncertainty with regard to regular employment. Of the shade-makers interviewed, only two claimed that the firms employing them furnished work for the entire year. Twenty-seven said that the busy season lasted from July or August to Christmas, and six additional persons testified to a still shorter busy season, from September to Christmas. Some workers even claimed a busy season of only one month. For the most part one gets the impression that from September to Christmas the average firm gives its employees more than they can do. This is the season when women work far into the night. It is after this period that women are laid off in large numbers and this increase in the number of unem-

ployed operates (with the competition of employers for orders) to reduce to an unbelievable minimum the rates paid for making shades.

#### MARITAL STATUS

The question of marital status and the number of children of women workers is always of importance. The earning ability of the husband and father is likewise of importance.

It is recognized that home work means quite different things to the married woman with children and with domestic duties incident to family life and to unmarried women. Of the sixty-three married women the facts with reference to the earning ability of the husband and to the number of children seem especially important. Of the sixty-three husbands, twelve were unemployed at the time. Two were permanently handicapped, one by an industrial accident whose compensation had been exhausted, and one by being gassed during the war. The other ten were either temporarily out of work or in seasonal occupations or temporarily incapacitated. Of the fifty-one who were employed, nine were porters, nine in the iron and steel industry, seven were in clerical occupations, and the others in various miscellaneous occupations. The estimates of thirty-one husbands' earnings given by the wife in each case included two under \$20, eight between \$20 and \$25, six between \$25 and \$30, five between \$30 and \$35, two between \$35 and \$40, and eight, \$45 or over.

The number of children in these families was not large. In only twenty-five of the sixty-three families were there children under working age; and of these there was none with more than four children too young to go to work.

The domestic situation of these families may be summarized by saying that while the families are not burdened by children, they are handicapped by irregular employment, high rents, and often low wages; and they desire a standard of living higher than the husband's earnings will assure.

As to the thirty-two women who were not at the time married, one was the unmarried mother of two children; nine were widowed or divorced and had no one but themselves to support. Of these, nine do only home work; ten work in the factory too; four work at day work or hairdressing besides home work; four take in roomers and do home work; one has an invalid mother; four have to provide

only part of their own support and attend school, or are engaged in other ways. The earnings of those who worked full time at home work ranged from \$5 to \$20; while those who earned only part of their support earned from \$2 to \$10 at home work.

Some of them contribute to the support of mothers or sisters or brothers, and six of these contributed to the support of children. These six earned from \$3.50 to \$15 a week at home work.

An interesting fact observable in these homes was the absence of children at work. In relatively few families were there children under sixteen assisting; of these, one was a thirteen-year-old girl who had evidently not worked long; there was a fourteen-year-old who was helping a neighbor; and in the case of a mother's-pension family, where the children ranged in age from five to fifteen, the baby could and did wrap shades, the older children wrapped frames, and the fifteen-year-old girl put in linings. The children of school age were, however, attending school.

The facts about a few of these family groups may serve as a suitable ending for this study of an interesting group among the wage-earning women of a northern city.

Taking the question of the relation of the women's work to the husbands' earnings, attention may be called to the wife of a steel worker. On February 26 his wife reported that he had been working irregularly since the preceding September, making about \$50 a month. The family, consisting of husband, wife, and a schoolboy of sixteen, lived in a six-room apartment over a store for which they paid a monthly rent of \$75. Sometimes they sublet one room; and when they could secure more roomers, they sublet a second room. The wife was earning \$15 to \$23 a week making parts of artificial flowers. She was working about sixty hours a week in the home on these flowers, and in addition making a commission on work she allowed one of the roomers to do. She had been doing this kind of work for three years and said it was "getting on her nerves," but she could not stop on account of the irregularity of her husband's employment.

The roomer was a young woman of twenty-one who had been married about a year. Her husband earned \$18 a week as a kitchen porter. When he had paid \$6.50 for room rent and subtracted from his wages his train fare, little was left for anything else. The wife

said she had to work if she was to have any clothing. So she made flowers fifty to seventy hours in the week and with her earnings supplemented the family budget by about seven dollars.

Eight husbands reported as earning \$40 or more a week are employed as follows: plumber and steam-fitter, 1; post-office clerk, 1; foundry, 1; building trades, 2; business, 2.

The family of the plumber and steam-fitter consists of wife and two daughters fifteen and eighteen years of age. They live in a six-room flat in a neighborhood where they have resided since prior to 1919, the time of the Chicago race riot. The house in which they live is one of a row of old tenement houses in an unattractive and unsavory neighborhood. The apartment rents for \$24 a month. On one visit Mrs. W, wife of the plumber, said that her husband was working for an oil-burner company who paid \$14 a day for his labor. His non-membership in the union kept him from some jobs. He never knew until he reached the place of work whether or not he would be received. His daily rate was \$2 less than the union rate. On the next visit Mrs. W said her husband had become disgusted at being uncertain of jobs and had begun working with the city for \$10 a day. In spite of his relatively high earnings Mrs. W said it was impossible for her husband to support the family, and she had to supplement his wages by some kind of work. Working with her daughters Mrs. W can earn as much as \$25 a week on artificial flowers.

The wife of a foundry worker makes lamp shades when she feels like it. The wife of a chauffeur says that her husband throws his money away. In addition, she has to contribute to the support of her mother. The influence of the seasonal nature of the building trades might cause women whose husbands are in this industry to supplement the family income by working. The wives of two men listed previously gave additional reasons for working: one does not like to stay at home (works in a lamp-shade factory in the day and occasionally brings shades home), and the other is helping her husband to purchase their home.

Mrs. D makes \$15 to \$17 a week sewing on lamp shades while her husband sells coal and ice. Some weeks his gross receipts are \$75, but his expenses are great and she wants to help him all she can.

Although Mrs. H's husband has a prosperous hat-blocking, shoe-



shining, and cigar and newspaper stand on a South Side cross-town street, Mrs. H needs pin money. So she, with the help of her sixteen-year-old daughter, makes \$11-\$12 a week on artificial flowers while her housekeeper takes care of the home.

Between these extremes in the range presented lie the following cases that seem perhaps more generally typical.

Mrs. X, aged thirty-nine, lives on Prairie Avenue north of Thirty-third Street. She and her husband are buying the ten-room house in which the couple live with their daughter, son-in-law, granddaughter (one month old), and five roomers. Monthly payments of \$50 on the home must be met. Mr. X is a car-cleaner earning \$23.50 a week. The income from lodgers is \$25 weekly. When Mrs. X has finished her domestic tasks she sews eight to ten hours a day, earning \$8-\$9 a week.

Mrs. Y, aged twenty-eight, and her husband share a clean, well-furnished, newly decorated six-room apartment with Mrs. Y's cousin and her cousin's husband. Each couple is responsible for half of the rent of \$75. Both husbands work in the steel mills. Mr. Y makes \$23-\$25 a week, but sometimes he is laid off for two weeks at a time. Both the women go out to work. Mrs. Y says she has to work, and in the busy season she brings shades home from the factory about three evenings in the week. With the combined work of factory and home she earns about \$15 a week.

Mrs. Z's husband "shaves backs" in the stockyards, for which he receives \$37 in the busy season, but only \$28 or \$29 in the dull. They, with their daughter of eight, live in a comfortable kitchenette apartment on the fifth floor of a building in an undesirable neighborhood. The rent is \$30 a month. It takes all that Mr. Z can make to support the small family, and Mrs. Z works so they can have some savings. In the busy season she works at lamp shades for \$15-\$18 a week. The piece work system and the loose organization of the lamp-shade industry allow her to leave home after her little girl is off for school and to return, bringing a few shades with her after school hours in the afternoon. When the busy season ends for lamp shades, Mrs. Z gets a job as a waitress. She likes the exercise and experience she gains by the transfer.

Mrs. P's husband also works in the steel mills. In the busy times he earns \$28-\$30 a week, but when the work is slack he brings



home only \$16 in his pay envelope. The couple rent two unfurnished rooms at \$8 a week and take a roomer. Nearly every night, after Mrs. P has worked eight or nine hours in the factory, she makes shades for four or five hours at home. This adds \$5 or \$6 to the \$20 or \$25 she claims to make in the factory. There are no children, but both husband and wife support parents in the South.

Mrs. R's mother, who washes dishes in a restaurant, is buying a seven-room home in which reside six adults and three children, all relatives. All the adults in the home are working. Mrs. R, aged twenty-one, cannot go out because of her three children born in three successive years, the youngest of whom is two months. Her husband is an intermittent worker. At the time of the first visit he had been floorman in a garage for two weeks at a salary of \$25 a week. He had been out of work for three months prior to securing this job. Mrs. R puts about eight hours a day on silk lamp shades at home, for which she seldom receives as much as \$10 a week.

Mrs. S, aged thirty-three, with her husband and four children (ages: fifteen, thirteen, eleven, and nine), lives in a basement flat. Mr. S works in the stockyards. His wages in the busy season amount to \$35 a week; in the dull, to \$21 (the latter amount is guaranteed). Mrs. S has worked for four manufacturers of artificial flowers in a month. She puts ten hours a day and fifty hours a week into home work. Her earnings during the year ranged from \$7 to \$15 a week. The largest amount she has ever made was \$21.

An interest attaches likewise to the following descriptions of a few of the unmarried women who were earning wages in this way.

Miss Helen J, aged thirty-two, taught school in Mississippi before she came to Chicago. It may be interesting to know that her salary there was \$37.50 a month. When she came North she learned to make silk lamp shades and has been making them ever since. For four years she has been bringing home additional work whenever it could be obtained. She grew tired of working inside, and two months ago began doing home work altogether. Prices are not so good as inside rates, but with the advantage of saving time and carfare (the company delivers the shades) she makes about the same amount as she made in the factory, \$13 a week.

Jennie B came from Mississippi four years ago when she was sixteen. Two years ago she finished junior high school and be-

gan supporting herself. She would rather work at home than in the factory because she saves time by working at home. In the factory she is delayed by inspection and in securing materials. More than that, she can bring enough work some days to keep her busy for two days. And, besides, she lives with her sister, who also makes shades, and they take turns at bringing and delivering shades.

In the busy season she works from 8:30 A.M. until 10 P.M., with two hours off for meals. In the dull season she tries other jobs, but she finds nothing so agreeable. In May, when her company could give her no more work, she went into a laundry to work at \$15 a week. At the beginning of the second week the employer put her on piece work, at which she could earn but \$2 a day, so she quit. The hours in the laundry (sixty-five a week) were too long, too. She "sure likes to make shades," and she expects to continue unless she finds something that interests her more. Her earnings in the busy season (August to January) are \$17-\$28 a week. This year she worked from January 1 to May 1, averaging \$17 a week. She does not pay rent, but helps her sister, with whom she lives. Since she began working two years ago she has saved \$300.

Lucy W lives in a handsome apartment building in one of the most desirable residential blocks occupied by Negroes on the South Side. Her mother and brother and herself room with a widow on the third floor. Lucy is still in school. She has finished Crane Junior College, but is now completing normal school. Her mother makes \$15 a week sewing in a shop. Her brother, who is a red cap in a railroad station after school hours, is a student at the University of Chicago. Lucy has been making flowers for two years and a half. In a fifty-hour week she earns \$15-\$18.

There were nine women who had others dependent upon them. Of these, three actually occupied the position of chief bread-winner at the time of interviews, while six supported mothers partly or wholly. Of these, the first three shouldered the greatest burdens and are therefore most important.

The first one of these women was twenty-three years old and the oldest of seven children. The mother and father were both living; but the mother had to stay at home to care for home responsibilities, and the father had the feeling that the family should support him. The family had recently suffered the loss by marriage of

the support of one daughter. Of three daughters making lamp shades, she was the swiftest. In the fall of 1926 the two remaining wage-earners were making shades, earning about \$10 each a week. This was not enough for the support of nine persons, so that the oldest daughter decided to try home work to supplement the family income. She secured work from a young woman who was giving out the work she had secured from a factory. Of course, she reduced the prices in order to make a profit on the work she distributed. In the evenings the two daughters and the mother made shades for about four hours. The three working together made not more than \$10 a week.

Another family owned and lived in a huge but dilapidated house on Prairie Avenue. Their income from this huge dwelling was only \$7 a week. The sixty-five-year-old father did odd jobs of carpentry; the mother did day work; a daughter of twenty-four was a stock girl at \$12 a week. Another daughter, the lamp-shade maker, made \$18-\$25 a week in the busy season (September to January), about \$16 a week from January to April, and \$10-\$13 the rest of the year. A son of eighteen was ill and unable to work.

A graduate of Crane College and Chicago Normal School makes flowers while she waits for an appointment to teach in the public schools. She substitutes occasionally, but thinks she would rather sit at home and make flowers quietly than to teach bad children. But she needs money. Her mother is a widow, and the brother, who was the main support of the family, has recently died of tuberculosis. After her brother died she took a five weeks' rest because the doctor said that she and her sister had spots on their lungs and had to be careful.

She has done many kinds of work while she finished her education. Once she worked in a date factory on the night shift, from six to eleven, to make \$5 a week. Once she tried a laundry during the summer. She was paid \$10 a week at the beginning, but soon was put on a piece rate of three cents a hundred for folding towels. Then she earned only \$8 a week.

She has worked for one artificial-flower firm for four years. She began one summer at the rate of \$2 a day, but again the employer introduced a piece-rate system. Two years ago, when the employer's wife came into the factory, rates were cut about 40 per cent.

When this worker was visited she was found sitting on a davenport with organdie petals of beautiful colors heaped high beside her. She sat with a book on the arm of the couch and a box of materials in her lap, reading and at the same time rolling petals like an automaton.

Besides the mother and daughter there are a brother of fourteen and a sister of seventeen in the family. The home worker is the only steady worker, and her earnings of \$15-\$18 a week are the only earnings reported at the time of the interview. The family lives in a large apartment which they rent for \$100 a month. Roomers pay \$14.50 a week. When the brother died the mother had to pay the back rent out of the insurance.

In addition to this group with family responsibilities for sisters, brothers, and mothers there are six women with children to support. Two women, each with one child, have no parents; one with six children, five under fourteen years of age, receives a mother's allowance from the juvenile court of \$100, earning by her home work \$3-\$15 a week; one with a two-year-old child and an infant earns \$3.50 a week and is given \$10 a month by the charities; while one with two children earns \$5.00 by home work, besides \$8-\$12 by day work.

No attempt can be made here to discuss the future of home work in the Negro districts. It is, unquestionably, bound up with numerous questions relating to Negro labor. A widening of the field of employment open to the women in this group will undoubtedly lead them into more profitable occupations. Again, the pressure of high rents may be lightened, and this also may affect the future of the work. An attempt has been made here merely to set out the most important facts relating to home work among Negro women in Chicago at the present time. The interpretation of these facts must be left in large measure to others.

MYRA HILL COLSON

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

## PAN-AMERICANISM THROUGH ORGANIZED LABOR

**T**HE greatest single agency working for peace in the Western world is undoubtedly organized labor. Airplanes may wing their way to the lands south of us with messages of good will. Emissaries, more or less official, weighted with fine promises, may journey to our Latin neighbors; but it is to representatives of organized labor in the United States that we must give the credit for laying the basis for a real Pan-Americanism.

Late in 1924, Samuel Gompers, almost blind, and with strength fast ebbing, made his way up to the City of Mexico. There he gave his final message to the assembled Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It was not only his last effort before that organization which he, through his own efforts, had brought into being, but it was his last service to labor. Then it will be remembered that the weariness of death smote him and he started home to die.

Time may prove that the inception of the Pan-American idea in organized labor is the most momentous step in the direction of real union in the Western Hemisphere that has ever been taken. It is not intended here to minimize the very considerable services of numerous publicists, diplomats, and statesmen in the interests of Pan-Americanism; but great as their efforts have been, they have never reached the masses of the people; nor have they succeeded in allaying the feeling of fear and suspicion toward the United States which is so prevalent in Latin America. But it must be manifest that the bond of a common labor organization with a common aim in raising the standard of working conditions in the Americas is one that is likely to break down the barriers of distrust and fear. It must be frankly admitted at the outset, however, that the Pan-American idea in labor is far from being a complete reality. Outside of Mexico and the Caribbean republics the organization has not penetrated to any great extent.

For many years prior to the overthrow of Diaz the American Federation of Labor had regarded the unorganized condition of Mexican labor as a menace to labor standards in the United States.

Every year thousands of Mexicans poured over the frontier into the southwestern states, sometimes to act as strike-breakers, and always to compete with American labor under terms disadvantageous to the latter.

During the closing years of the Díaz régime the United States, more particularly the city of Los Angeles, became the center for the activities of certain Mexican liberal labor elements, which sought to organize resistance to the arbitrary rule of Díaz, who permitted no labor organizations to exist in Mexico. But the relentless police system of the dictator followed them even to the United States, and there were many arrests and attempts at prosecution at the instigation of the Mexican government.

In Gompers' story of his life and work in the labor movement he tells of his early contacts with Mexican labor and the leaders of the liberal movement who were compelled to seek refuge in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Many of these men were persecuted by Mexican government agents, often assisted by American officers—a practice which was stopped by President Taft at the suggestion of Gompers.<sup>2</sup>

Gompers early felt that the cause of the Mexican Liberals was intimately bound up with the forces of labor which he led in the United States. The common enemy, according to him, was the American capitalist who dominated the Díaz régime and sought to keep labor submerged both in this country and in Mexico.

With the overthrow of Díaz and the coming of Madero, labor unions sprang up almost overnight in Mexico. One of the first labor organizations to come into existence at this time was the Casa del Obrero Mundial. It was founded with a distinctly revolutionary program, accepting such principles as direct action, syndicalism, and the general strike. This organization was followed by a number of others. In Yucatan, which soon became the center of some very distinct political innovations, the workers were organized by Carlos Loveira, Felipe Carrillo, and others who brought into being the Alianza Mutualista de Empleos de los Ferrocarriles, and at a somewhat later time the Liga de Resistencia del Partido Socialista. In Vera Cruz the Carnera del Trabajo was organized by Pedro

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, II, 303 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gompers, *op. cit.*, p. 309.



Junco Rojo, who had been a prominent factor in organizing workers in Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

Meantime the idealistic Madero was overthrown by the autocratic Huerta, and then came a period of confusion and anarchy which gave additional impetus to those forces in America which were working for intervention. Very early in this agitation for intervention the American Federation of Labor in convention expressed itself in vigorous terms against such action. In the convention of 1912 the assembled delegates went on record in part as follows: "We are utterly opposed to intervention in Mexico and believe in a determined policy of hands off. We extend our cordial greetings and best wishes to the men of Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women and to abolish the present land tenure."<sup>2</sup>

Toward Huerta the Federation adopted a policy of consistent hostility. In a letter of Mr. R. Zubaran, United States representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists in Washington, the Executive Council of the Federation set forth its position with respect to Huerta and the Constitutionalists under Carranza. The Council asked that the Constitutionalists follow a humanitarian policy toward the followers of Huerta who had been worsted, and further begged that the new government undertake agrarian reforms.<sup>3</sup> This policy was later indorsed by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Philadelphia in 1914.

Early in his struggle against Huerta, Carranza had entered into an agreement with La Casa del Obrero Mundial in which he pledged his support of that organization in return for aid in his struggle against the usurper.<sup>4</sup> Gompers writes of his close relations with Mexican labor at this time. It earnestly sought his advice and support; and to that end Colonel Martinez was sent to Washington to confer with Gompers, and at the same time to lay before him some confidential information, which Gompers declares he placed in the hands of President Wilson.<sup>5</sup> Martinez suggested that the working people had chosen General Carranza as their leader in the struggle

<sup>1</sup> See Carlton Beals, *Mexico: An Interpretation*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor* (1912), p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* (1914), pp. 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, II, 312.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.



and were willing to support their choice with their lives. Through their representative at this time they registered an emphatic protest against the United States interfering with their internal affairs.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this information and upon advice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Gompers urged upon President Wilson the immediate recognition of the Mexican government with Carranza at its head.<sup>2</sup> This measure was warmly supported by the convention of the Federation when that body met at San Francisco in 1915.<sup>3</sup>

The spring of 1916 brought a great tide of woe to the Mexican people, but nevertheless these troubles served to bind the working classes of that unhappy country more closely to the proletariat of the United States as represented by the American Federation of Labor. With the disaffection of Villa and the Columbus raid came the American expedition and the Carrizal incident, followed by a great clamor for intervention in America.

In the midst of these critical events, while war between the United States and Mexico hung in the balance, Gompers wrote to the organized workers of Mexico City asking for a conference in El Paso, Texas. His plan was to avert war by bringing about an understanding between the two countries. To this plan the Mexican workers were only too eager to agree, and sent representatives at once to the border for a conference. Their action was too precipitate, however. The representatives from American labor could not be assembled in time. It was therefore arranged that the Mexicans should come on to Washington to attend a meeting of the Executive Council of the Federation which was to be held on June 26, 1916.<sup>4</sup>

It was while this conference was in session that affairs reached a crisis between the United States and Mexico. President Wilson had sent an ultimatum to Carranza, first chief of the Constitutionalists; and war preparations in the United States were on in full swing. It was at this stage—the ultimatum stage of the negotiations—that both American and Mexican labor showed themselves to be above the prevalent hysteria and calmly worked for adjustment of the differences that divided the two countries.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1915), pp. 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1916), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

On June 28, when the situation had become acute owing to Carranza's failure to answer President Wilson's demands, Gompers sent Carranza the following telegram: "In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interests of a better understanding between the peoples and governments of the United States and Mexico, for the purpose of giving the opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua."<sup>1</sup>

By evening of the same day the news had reached Washington that Carranza had issued an order releasing the American soldiers held as prisoners.

As a result of the conference of labor representatives mentioned before, a compact was entered into which must be regarded as a landmark in the direction of promoting better relations between the United States and Mexico. Some significant points of the document are given below:

We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between our countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping to determine international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent.

We appeal to the workers and all of the people of the United States and of Mexico to do everything in their power to promote correct understanding of purposes and actions to prevent friction, to encourage good will, and to promote an intelligent national opinion that ultimately shall direct relations between our countries and shall be a potent humanitarian force in promoting world progress.<sup>2</sup>

The conference advocated the establishment of a joint commission to settle the differences existing between the two countries.<sup>3</sup> This was the method actually employed by the two republics for a settlement of their outstanding differences. But more significant for the future was the increased agitation for a Pan-American federation of labor. This movement had already received the sanction of the American Federation of Labor at the convention of 1915 in San Francisco.<sup>4</sup> For some time before this, however, the Pan-American

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1915), pp. 187-88, also p. 291.

idea had been the dream of men like John Murray and Samuel Gompers.

Labor, in moving in the direction of a Pan-American federation of labor, was following the example set by the economic interests. In May, 1915, representatives of these interests had met in Washington but had not invited labor participation. The result was a protest from Gompers,<sup>1</sup> who regarded the move as a challenge to labor in the Western world to defend itself.<sup>2</sup> Then followed action upon the part of the Executive Council in 1915, calling for a better understanding between workers of the United States and Latin America.<sup>3</sup>

In the Baltimore convention of the Federation held in the following year the Executive Council was authorized to call a Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference, which was finally held in Washington, January 31, 1917. At this conference a permanent organization known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, with Mr. Gompers as chairman and John Murray as secretary, came into being.<sup>4</sup>

The Committee drew up a manifesto addressed to the workers of Latin America calling upon them to join in a comprehensive labor organization for protection against the forces of capital. The manifesto declared it to be the

duty of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to show to the World that its purpose is to permeate the Western Hemisphere with a humane influence. This influence will more truly represent the sentiments of the American people than the influence of all the corporations of the United States, and is in strong contrast with those capitalists who are eternally crying "Business, business; and Dollars, dollars."

Above all things, the Pan-American Federation of Labor should stand as a guard on watch to protect the Western Hemisphere from being overrun by military domination from any quarter.<sup>5</sup>

The conference committee in this manifesto suggested the following as immediate aims:

Higher wages. Shorter work days. More safe and sanitary conditions in places of employment. Better homes. Better surroundings. Prohibition of child labor. Protection of children. Legislative enactments to achieve and maintain equal rights. The right of association. The right of free assemblage. The right of free speech. The right of free press. The right, singly or collectively, to withhold our labor power—the right to strike.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1917), p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Manifesto," in *American Federationist* (March, 1917).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

The response to this manifesto has been somewhat tardy. The workers of South America have not attained anything like the unity and numerical strength that has been developed in the United States and Mexico. But nevertheless many of them did send messages of sympathy for the movement and indicated approval of the plans.<sup>1</sup> The workers of Cuba responded to the call by sending Antonio Correa Gonzalez as resident delegate at Washington; while Edmundo Martinez served in the same capacity for the federated syndicates of Mexico.

In the summer of 1918 a further step was taken toward the development of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the growth of more friendly relations between the workers of America and Mexico. Mr. Gompers and the Executive Council decided to send a labor commission to Mexico in the hope of counteracting the German influence which appeared quite active at this time. The mission was also charged to effect the following aims:

To lay the basis for the mutual acceptance of the union cards of the bona fide unions of both countries, subject to the approval of the particular unions involved. . . . To help secure the economic, political, and social improvement of the condition of the workers of both countries. . . . (a) Economic action. (b) Sympathetic and co-operative administration. To safeguard as far as it is possible the principles of autonomous independence and democratic Pan-American Countries from open and insidious attempts of autocratic forms of government.<sup>2</sup>

The Executive Council of the Federation suggested in its report to the convention of 1918 that perhaps the mission might result in conferences which would serve to "frustrate the activities of vested interests that were employing powerful publicity agencies and diplomatic influences to bring about a misunderstanding between the two countries."<sup>3</sup>

The Commission was composed of James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the A.F. of L.; Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico; and John Murray, secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference

<sup>1</sup> The following countries expressed themselves as favorable to a Pan-American movement: Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, St. Kitts' Island, British West Indies, and Porto Rico. Individual representatives from the United States of Colombia, Uruguay, Chili, and Panama gave personal approval of the plan.

<sup>2</sup> "Mexican-American Labor Pact," in *American Federationist* (August, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1918), p. 55.

Committee. They learned at first hand of the progress that Mexican labor had made since the Revolution, the membership being something over a half-million in the various unions. It seems that a national convention of labor had assembled at Saltillo only a short time before they reached that city, and this convention had declared itself to be in favor of a federation of all the workers of Mexico. This federation project has actually been accomplished in the formation of the Mexican Federation of Labor, an organization which had a membership in 1924 of something like 800,000<sup>1</sup> (Santiago Iglesias now [1928] estimates it at two million).

The Commission, while generally favorably received, was nevertheless somewhat handicapped by the antagonism of certain German-controlled newspapers which carried on a campaign of adverse publicity. Much opposition came from the syndicalists, who were very strong among the labor organizations and had adopted all the prejudices held by the Industrial Workers of the World in America against the American Federation of Labor.<sup>2</sup>

As the result of the activities of this Commission the two most important national labor organizations in Mexico, the *Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros del Distrito Federal* and the *Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana* (the Mexican Federation of Labor), sent a communication to the Commission which was in part an acceptance of the principles laid down by Mr. Gompers in his letter of credentials to the American representatives.<sup>3</sup> As evidence of their good faith and friendship the Mexican labor organizations likewise selected a commission composed of Luis Morones, general secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Salvador Alvarez, representing the *Sindicatos* of Mexico, and John Murray. It was determined that this latter commission should attend the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor, but it did not arrive in time; therefore Morones and Alvarez went on to Washington, where a formal meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was held June 27, 1918. During the following days many conferences were held between the Mexican representatives and the resident members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. As a result of these meetings the "committee re-

<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Yearbook*, VII (1926), 448.

<sup>2</sup> See *American Federationist* (August, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

quested President Gompers to give to the Mexican Commissioners in Washington a letter explaining the nature of the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor and incorporating the joint agreement adopted."<sup>1</sup>

This letter suggested an early international conference to be held at the American-Mexican border in order to establish the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Mr. Gompers had set his heart upon this project and spared no pains to bring about its realization. The letter also reiterated the hope for better relations and understanding between the two neighboring republics.<sup>2</sup> It was tentatively proposed that a conference between American and Mexican labor representatives be held at Laredo, Texas, beginning November 13, 1918. This proposition was finally carried out without serious hitch, and the Pan-American Federation of Labor was fairly launched.<sup>3</sup>

The congress opened up with seventy-two delegates, representing the labor movements of the United States, Mexico, Central and South America. Prior to the opening of the congress, Mexican and American labor delegates met on the International Bridge at Laredo, where speeches were made by Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson, who acted as spokesman for President Wilson, and General Garza, who represented the Mexican government. Addresses were also made by Luis Morones on behalf of Mexican labor and by Samuel Gompers for American labor. The delegates then marched to Laredo, where the conference opened.<sup>4</sup>

The sessions of the conference were not without friction. In fact, it seemed for a while that no permanent organization would be effected. The point of contention was the treatment of the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States. Delegate Torres, of the Mexican workers, deplored the incarceration of members of the I.W.W., declaring that these men were being held for nothing that would be regarded as a crime in Mexico.<sup>5</sup> The American dele-

<sup>1</sup> "Mexican-United States Labor Pact," *American Federationist* (August, 1918).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, II 318-19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1919), p. 86.



gation took pains to declare and explain the hostility manifested by the I.W.W. for the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time called attention to their destructive tactics. Mr. Gompers on this occasion spoke in part as follows:

It is all very good for any one to say, "why not give these people, the I.W.W., the opportunity to live and work out their own propaganda just as they want to." But I want to say to you, My friends, that we have one labor movement, cohesive, militant, and determined, in the United States of America, and because we have one labor movement in America we occupy a position of power and influence to bring a better time into the lives of the working people of our country.

The I.W.W.'s in the United States are exactly what the Bolsheviks are in Russia, and we have seen what the I.W.W. Bolsheviks have done for the working people of Russia, where the people have no peace, no security, no land and no bread.<sup>1</sup>

After an extended discussion the Mexicans expressed themselves as enlightened by the debate, and the work of organizing a permanent Pan-American Federation of Labor went on. Mr. Gompers was elected chairman of the body; John Murray was made English-language secretary; and Canuto Vargas was elected Spanish-language secretary. A constitution was framed which set forth the following objects:

1. The establishment of better conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.
2. The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.
3. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and the promotion of the rights, and interests and welfare of the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.
4. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most friendly relations between the labor movements and the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.<sup>2</sup>

The Constitution went on to provide for representation on the basis of at least two delegates from each of the American republics. The congress of the Federation was to meet annually on the second Monday in July at places selected by the delegates at the preceding congress. The officers, to be elected for one year, were to consist of a chairman, and a Spanish and English secretary. The secretaries

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

were to receive salaries and devote all their time to the work of the Federation. Washington was made the official headquarters of the organization.

Since the launching of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in 1918 four congresses have been held: one in New York City during 1919; two meetings in Mexico City, one in 1921 and another in 1924; and the last meeting was held in July, 1927, in Washington. These meetings have been characterized by much good feeling and frankness of expression. While it is true that the American Federation of Labor has been the leading power in the new federation, nevertheless there has been no disposition on the part of the Americans to domineer over their less powerful neighbors. The Mexican Federation of Labor has been active and influential in the organization and has not hesitated to oppose American opinions and policies on occasion. The same has been true of some affiliated organizations representative of the republics of the Caribbean Sea.

Representatives from Peru, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Panama, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Porto Rico, and Salvador, as well as Colombia, Honduras, and Chili, have attended the congresses thus far. Obviously the movement has not yet received the support of the more outstanding of the South American republics. This may be due in part to the backward state of labor organizations in those countries, and in part to a lack of sympathy for the American Federation of Labor. The Argentine federation, perhaps the most influential organization of labor group in South America, has refused to affiliate with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It regards its affiliation with the International Federation of Trades Unions as sufficient,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps it does not relish the idea of being connected with American labor.

The influence of the American Federation of Labor on the Pan-American organization has been eminently conservative in character. Mention has already been made of the early struggle over the Industrial Workers of the World, and the sympathy expressed for that organization by Mexican labor. It is no doubt true that Latin-American labor has been much affected by French, Italian, and

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Third Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor* (1921), p. 24.

Spanish doctrinaire notions. Socialism, and its more radical half-brother, syndicalism, have had a great vogue in the lands to the south of us. But so great has been the prestige of the American Federation of Labor and the respect accorded Samuel Gompers that these ideas have found no place in the platform or philosophy of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The congress of 1921, held at Mexico City, adopted by an almost unanimous vote a resolution which was a definite repudiation of syndicalism, socialism, and doctrines of a like nature, and indorsed the trade-union methods of the American Federation of Labor. In fact there was nothing more extreme in the resolution than a demand for industrial democracy and trade agreements.<sup>1</sup>

While the American labor unionists have been influential and powerful in molding the thought and character of the new organization, they have often been placed in embarrassing positions by their government's policy in the Caribbean, which has involved the taking over of the government of the Dominican Republic and Hayti, and intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua and other republics of that region. In the Pan-American Labor Congress of 1919 the Dominican labor delegate, Mr. J. E. Kunhardt, complained of the activities of the United States in Santo Domingo since November, 1915, when the affairs of the Republic passed into the control of the former power. He protested against the non-enforcement of the Republic's immigration laws, the severe censorship of the press, the denial of free speech, and the manifest unfairness of the provost marshals in the administration of justice.<sup>2</sup>

The Congress declared in favor of a resolution which provided that Mr. Gompers and the American Federation of Labor should start an investigation of the conditions prevailing on the Island.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Gompers was authorized by the convention of the Federation, which met in 1919, to appoint a committee of three to investigate conditions on the Island of Porto Rico, where complaints had arisen over the actions of Governor Arthur Yager. With these instructions

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor* (1919), pp. 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

before it, and the request of the Pan-American Federation of Labor relative to Santo Domingo in mind, the Executive Council of the American Federation decided that a committee be authorized to visit both places. Accordingly, Peter Grady, of the photo-engravers' union, and Anthony McAndrews, president of the tobacco workers' union, were appointed to undertake the mission.<sup>1</sup>

Before the departure of the men, Gompers wrote to President Wilson relative to the complaints of the Santo Dominicans and was informed that the censorship had been abolished, and that the other matters would be investigated.<sup>2</sup> The mission sailed in January, 1920, to Porto Rico and Santo Domingo. They found in the latter place a persistent demand for the termination of American control.<sup>3</sup>

Relative to the complaints of the Dominican Federation of Labor in the Pan-American Congress of 1919, the commission found that body justified in its protest against the violations of the immigration laws. It found that laborers were brought in from Hayti and the British West Indies to work on public contracts and on the sugar plantations at a very low rate of pay. The sugar planters were accused of being most vicious in their efforts to destroy the unions and of acting like feudal lords, seizing the land and meting out justice according to their own ideas.<sup>4</sup>

After completing its investigation, the commission prepared a number of recommendations for reform, which were presented to Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden, military governor of Santo Domingo. These recommendations included the following: eight-hour day for all civil service employees, workmen's compensation laws, enforcement of immigration laws, the right to strike, health measures, removal of troops from sugar plantations where their presence is used to intimidate workers, better educational advantages, building of roads, and many other reforms.<sup>5</sup> The commission further urged "that a conference be arranged between the State and Navy Departments with a view to determining the date at which the military occupation of Santo Domingo shall come to an end."<sup>6</sup> It was also suggested that the "United States government aid the

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1920), p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 245 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Dominican people by means of experts in various departments, and by such disinterested action convince the people of the Island and of Latin America that we are not in collusion with the land-grabbing sugar interests who have exploited the people."<sup>1</sup> The commission did not fail, however, to point out that the military administration of the island by the United States forces had been of great benefit to the Dominicans in ridding them of hordes of bandits who had made life very insecure and business almost impossible.

In the congress of 1919 the delegate from Nicaragua asked that the Pan-American Federation of Labor use its influence with the President of the United States to effect an amelioration in the unfortunate situation in Nicaragua. He pointed to the interference of American capitalists in the control of the railroads and custom houses, and the presence of American troops in the country. The Nicaraguans claimed that the United States had used its influence in maintaining a certain political faction in power in opposition to the wishes of the Nicaraguan people.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that the Republic has been in the control of an oligarchy headed by the Chamorro family, which managed by fraud and force to keep itself in power. The Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor did not at first feel justified in asking the President to interfere in the management of the elections, which seemed to offer the greatest opportunity for the exercise of dishonesty. But later on Gompers received a direct request from the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor for assistance and called upon the state department of the United States to lend a hand.<sup>3</sup>

The substance of the complaint made by the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor was that the United States had constantly sided with the unpopular party in Nicaragua. It claimed that intervention had been only in the interests of a few, namely, the Conservative party in that country and the financial interests in the United States. The organization now asked that the United States either maintain a policy of "hands off" with respect to Nicaragua or intervene in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Pan-American Federation of Labor* (1919), pp. 62-63; also 1924, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1921), p. 61.

interests of all the people of the country. It begged that America act as an impartial judge in securing a fair and just presidential election.<sup>1</sup>

In the end the United States government, acting through the state department, secured for the Nicaraguans the services of a Mr. Dodds, who aided them in framing an electoral law which would guard them against frauds. In the election which followed in the fall of 1924 the Liberal party, opposed to the Chamorro faction, won the presidency.<sup>2</sup>

Interesting as the contacts of American labor have been with the smaller republics to the south of us, the relations with Mexican labor have been still more significant and epoch making. As Carranza's government continued in power after the elimination of Huerta, it became increasingly corrupt in character and developed an attitude of hostility to organized labor. Finally it was threatened by revolution—a danger which Carranza, with a blind fatuity, ignored. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities Secretary Vargas, of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, met a representative of Mexican labor at the border who furnished him with the information that a revolution was impending against Carranza because of his attitude in trying to prevent the election of Alvaro Obregon to the presidency by postponing the election. This representative made it clear that Obregon was the favorite of the laboring classes because of his warm advocacy of a liberal program of reform.<sup>3</sup>

Meantime the interventionists in the United States, because of the uncertainty and instability of the government in Mexico, became extraordinarily active. Their propaganda was well organized, and for a time very effective. But toward them the American Federation of Labor took a position of decided opposition. The Executive Council of that organization in its report to the convention of 1920 condemned in no uncertain terms the agitation for intervention which had filled the air since the close of the European war. The Council insisted that the propaganda for intervention was well

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* (1924), pp. 66 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Recently (November, 1925) General Chamorro, in a military coup, succeeded in ousting some of the members of the Liberal party from the government, while leaving the President nominally at the head of the government.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1920), p. 124.



organized and generously financed, and acted as a constant "menace to our international relations with Latin-America." It made its position clear in the following statement:

While for the moment the acute danger of intervention in the affairs seems to have passed, the danger will never be removed entirely so long as the organized exploiters of the soil, mineral, timber and land values of Mexico continue to conduct a propaganda devised to serve their interests, regardless of its effects upon international peace. We declare our condemnation of propaganda of this character, in most emphatic terms, and call upon the people of our country to be at all times warned of its existence and apprehensive of news sources and newspapers known to be colored by its activities. We declare our firm belief in, and unflinching support of, the principle long since enunciated by the labor movement and the policies enforced by President Wilson, to the end that the Mexican people must work out their destiny in freedom and without menace from more powerful and aggressive forces seeking to advance selfish aims. We see no justification for interference in the affairs of a neighboring republic and we call attention to the harmonious relations which exist between the organized workers of Mexico and the organized workers of the United States, as exemplified in the report of our delegates to the Pan-American Federation of Labor, submitted to this convention.<sup>1</sup>

The council also condemned the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, known as the Fall Committee, which it declared had been biased and prejudiced in its work with respect to Mexico, and had done much to destroy Latin-American faith in the American government.<sup>2</sup>

This clear enunciation of attitude was heartily supported by the American Federation of Labor convention. Its action at this time was characteristic. The organization has steadfastly opposed imperialistic designs through its entire history.

Chester M. Wright, assistant editor of the *American Federationist*, writing in the June, 1920, issue of that journal, laid bare the organization for spreading of propaganda of intervention in Mexico. He pointed to the existence of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, with Mr. Charles Hudson Boynton as executive secretary or director. According to Mr. Wright, he was nothing more or less than a "glorified press agent" for the oil, timber, and real-estate interests of Americans in Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Mr. Wright's investigation disclosed the fact that many of the people connected with this association were interested in oil in Mexico.

Without exception [declares Mr. Wright] the individuals to whom I was referred and to whom presumably every other inquirer is referred by the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico was an active, earnest critic of Mexico and of the Administration at Washington. The conviction is inescapable that the Association has for its purpose the arousing of suspicion, distrust and enmity in the United States toward Mexico. They may never use the word "intervention" and they may decry its use but what need have they to ask for intervention if they can get every one else to demand it? Their propaganda is of a character calculated to arouse anger and resentment. Once begin a search for information about Mexico in the offices of 347 Fifth Ave., New York City, and you will find yourself at the beginning of a trail which consists of one denunciation after another, one condemnation after another, one criticism after another, of things Mexican and of every policy of the United States which seems to indicate a desire for peaceful and harmonious relations between the two nations.<sup>1</sup>

Gompers, writing in the *American Federationist* of January, 1921, after the peaceful and constitutional election of Obregon, suggested that information had come to his office that plotting was still going on in the United States for intervention and rebellion against the government of Obregon. Gompers urged vehemently that every effort be made to give Mexico a fair chance to work out her own problems without interference from the exploiters in this country.<sup>2</sup>

After the elimination of Carranza, and with the continued peaceful administration of President Obregon, there came a demand upon the part of the American Federation of Labor that the United States recognize his government. Mr. Gompers denounced the attitude of the United States government, which sought to bargain with Obregon in order to nullify certain fundamental laws contained in the constitution of 1917 (Art. 27) which endangered the hold of American investors in Mexico. It was at this time that the Hearst papers were running an exposé of the machinations of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, an organization which the Federation had exposed at an earlier time. It appears that the organization had plotted with

<sup>1</sup> Chester M. Wright in the *American Federationist* (June, 1920).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (January, 1921).

General Gonzalez for the overthrow of the Obregon government sometime during 1920. Mr. Gompers pointed to what he regarded to be the evident insincerity of the Hearst newspapers, which had published with no little relish a short time before the testimony hostile to Mexico given before the Fall Committee.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1921 convention of the American Federation of Labor a very firm stand was taken by that body in calling for a recognition of the government of Mexico by the United States. The report of the Committee on International Relations recommended that friendly relations be re-established between the United States and Mexico, and that the Federation take an attitude of opposition to the "greed which still seeks satisfaction in the rich resources of Mexico." This report was unanimously adopted by the convention.<sup>2</sup> Once again, in the convention of 1922, organized labor went on record for immediate recognition and passed two resolutions calling upon the Department of State to grant it.<sup>3</sup> In the fall of 1923 recognition became an accomplished fact and was the occasion for messages of felicitation to President Obregon and representatives of Mexican labor from the American Federation of Labor.<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly the best evidence of the growing sympathy and unity between American and Mexican labor was shown during the revolt of Adolfo de la Huerta. The revolt was launched in December, 1923, and soon gave ample proof that its leaders were distinctly opposed to the agrarian program of the Mexican government. Almost at once Mr. Gompers, acting on behalf of the American and the Pan-American Federations of Labor, offered sympathy and support to the Government of Mexico, which had already gained the complete indorsement of the Mexican labor movement. In fact, the whole of the organized labor group in Mexico moved as a body to support the government. Individual labor unions joined the federal army and gave whole-hearted support to maintain the established order.

Mr. Gompers appealed to Secretary of State Hughes to put a

<sup>1</sup> S. Gompers, *American Federationist* (March, 1922).

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings A.F. of L.* (1921), p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (1922), pp. 490-93.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* (1923), pp. 363-65.

stop to the sale of munitions to De la Huerta.<sup>1</sup> He (Gompers) also called upon American labor organizations engaged in transport work at border ports "to assist the United States government in the detection of gun-running and smuggling of illicit supplies to the forces of the rebellion headed by De la Huerta in Mexico."<sup>2</sup>

Not only did Gompers and his officers work in the United States for the support of Obregon's government, but they also appealed to the International Federation of Trade Unions to check the shipments of arms and amunition to De la Huerta. In part as the result of these manifold activities the revolt was speedily put down. The part that the American government played in selling supplies to Obregon is too well known to comment upon.

It is too early to make any definite predictions relative to the place of this Pan-American labor movement in the history of the Americas; but certainly one may be justified in pointing to certain possibilities. Perhaps Latin-American labor, as it becomes more and more industrialized, as it feels more and more the influence of American capital, will feel itself drawn to what it may regard as the only means to protect itself against exploitation—a Pan-American labor organization.

American investors in the lands to the south of us may come to look with approval upon the part the American Federation of Labor has played in preaching against revolutionary doctrines to their fellow-workmen in the southern republics. Just how much fruit this preaching will bear may depend upon the attitude of American employers toward organized labor.

Without question the most serious difficulty in the way of continued friendly relations between Mexico and the United States is the situation with respect to American investments in Mexico. Mexico has leaned very definitely upon foreign capital, particularly American capital, for carrying on the industrial development of the country. If the present Mexican labor government continues its policy of restricting the freedom of that capital, American investors will quit the country and labor itself will be injured thereby.

With the withdrawal of American capital, or at least with its

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor* (1924), pp. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

alienation, will come a renewal of plotting and agitation for intervention, attended by no end of friction between the two countries. This is a real problem and should be of deep concern, not only to investors, but to all those who are interested in world-peace. The interventionists—for unquestionably the cult still survives—will labor and pray for intervention. It may be then that the just and sober-minded will appreciate such agencies as the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with its background of good feeling established among the working people.

The beginnings of a better understanding between American and Mexican labor have clearly been made. But what of the other nations of Latin America? Are we justified in assuming that we have a real Pan-American Federation of Labor? If we mean by reality a great numerical showing within the Federation the answer must be in the negative. But if we mean by reality that the idea of a labor organization for all the Americas has taken hold of Latin America, then we may be justified in answering in the affirmative.

Mr. Santiago Iglesias, at present Spanish-language secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, in a recent letter to the writer declared that twelve nations have thus far affiliated with the organization,<sup>1</sup> and that the Labor Confederation of Argentine, a newly organized union, gives encouragement of an early affiliation.

Since this paper was begun<sup>2</sup> the clash of arms has been heard on

<sup>1</sup> The following organizations are now affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor: American Federation of Labor, U.S.A.; Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, Mexico; Confederacion de Obreros del Salvador, and the Union Obrera Salvadorena, Salvador; Union de Obreros "El Progreso," Republic of Honduras; Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguense, Nicaragua; Hermandad Communal Nacionalista, Dominican Republic; Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru, Peru; Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana, Ecuador; Federacion Obrera de Guatemala, Guatemala; Sindicato Central Obrero and Directorio Ejecutivo Nacional Socialista, Colombia; Union Obrera Venezolana, Venezuela; Brotherhood of Railroad Workers, Cuba; Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores, Puerto Rico.

<sup>2</sup> The Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met in Washington, July, 1927. As in former meetings, much plain speaking was indulged in by the Latin-American delegates. The state department's attitude toward Nicaragua seemed all very fresh in their memories. Resolutions were passed regretting the action of the United States in Nicaragua and calling for the withdrawal of American troops. Other resolutions dealt with the effects of the American tariff upon the countries to the south of us, the United States-Panama Treaty, and the dubious activities of certain American financiers. Thirty-six delegates were present, representing twelve nations.

one of the distant frontiers of the "Empire." Once more the marines land to support a régime in Nicaragua which is not hostile to the advance of the American dollar. Once more Latin America experiences a cold chill at the prospect of North American interference in the affairs of one of her republics. But American rights must be protected. The great "Colossus of the North" will be served.

Once more the much worn bogey of bolshevism is revived. This time it is the present Mexican labor government that seems to be infected with this dangerous virus, and she is also being charged with having attempted to pass this dreadful disease along to the Nicaraguans. Faced with these dangers, some Americans find De la Huerta to be quite a respectable gentleman, especially in view of his well-known "safe" position with respect to private property in oil lands and other natural resources in Mexico. Once again the trade of the revolutionists takes on new life, and a prosperous season may be expected.

Also another time-honored and much-battered-about bogey stalks in our midst: "Japan and Mexico are far too friendly." Let the prayer of those who love peace and just dealing be "O Lord, deliver us from those restless investors who will never be content until the flag follows their dollars, no matter where they lead us."

ROWLAND H. HARVEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT LOS ANGELES



## PROGRESS OF MOTHERS' AID ADMINISTRATION

IN THE seventeen years since the enactment of the first laws authorizing aid from public funds for children in their own homes, forty-four states and the District of Columbia have written this principle into their statute books. In a recent survey information was sought from the states having mothers' aid laws and the cities in these states having populations of more than 100,000 or counties containing such cities. Information was received from twenty-four states and the District of Columbia and from sixty-two counties or cities.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the data obtained, the total number of children receiving public aid in their own homes is estimated as approximately 200,000. The expenditures for mothers' aid during a year aggregate approximately \$30,000,000.

### DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC AID TO CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

As a legislative proposal, home care for dependent children has perhaps met with more ready response than any other social welfare measure. From the beginning of the "mothers' pension" movement its appeal to sentiment was such that some of the earlier laws were enacted in spite of the opposition of certain social welfare groups who feared that this would be but another form of "poor relief," subject to the evils that were felt to be inherent in public administration. It is significant of the thought among many of the leaders in social work at the time that the "White House Conference on Dependent Children" of 1908, which urged that children should wherever possible be kept in their own homes through the supplying of aid to the mothers, recommended that such aid should not be from public funds, but should be administered by private charitable agencies.

When the "mothers' pension" movement was beginning to assert

<sup>1</sup> The data obtained are published in a bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau: Emma O. Lundberg, *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children; Extent and Fundamental Principles*, Bureau Publication No. 162 (revised), Washington, 1928.

itself some advocates of this form of public aid expressed the hope that this might be the nucleus for improved methods of public relief which would eventually reform the whole system and socialize the treatment of all types of public relief problems. Whether or not mothers' aid administration can be credited with having effected such reform to any extent is a moot question. An Englishman recently asked why it was that we in the United States had to institute a special branch of public aid for widowed mothers; why did we not get it done properly as an integral part of our poor relief system? The answer was that it might be because we have a weakness for "movements." Undoubtedly the mothers' aid idea was put over much more readily as a new proposition than it ever could have been as a general reform of existing poor relief methods. In most states funds have been made available for this purpose much more generously than would have been possible under the old system, and administration has been placed on an entirely different level.

The close relationship between mothers' aid and family service and relief agencies on the one hand and the various forms of child caring work on the other is gradually being recognized. Originally conceived and promoted as a child welfare measure, it has become evident that the methods and objectives of administration are one with those of the high-grade public or private family agency. Mothers' aid, in fact, deals with one selected type of family problem, with an opportunity to specialize on the welfare of each individual child in the family. Certain outstanding examples of administration of public aid to families according to the principles of the best private family welfare and relief agencies have demonstrated the practicability of demanding from public agencies a high quality of service.

Mothers' aid administration on a good basis has become a definite step in the direction of better understanding of the relationship between family welfare and child welfare activities. The most fundamental factor in the prevention of child dependency is the maintenance and upbuilding of good home conditions. The growth of mothers' aid has been of tremendous importance, not only in actually reducing the number of children who must be cared for out of their own homes, but even more in demonstrating to institu-

tions and child placing agencies that such prevention of dependency is possible.

In June, 1928, only four of the forty-eight states had no mothers' aid law: Alabama, Georgia, New Mexico, and South Carolina. In some of these four states there is definite interest in such a measure, but enactment of legislation has not been attempted because it has not been felt that the state and counties were ready to provide the necessary appropriations and administrative machinery to make such a law effective. In the meantime some progress is being made in certain localities in these states where the value of aid to dependent children in their own homes is being demonstrated on a limited scale by institutions that make such provision instead of assuming the entire care of children. The Thomasville Orphanage in North Carolina undoubtedly was in a measure responsible for the North Carolina mothers' aid law passed in 1923. Notable contributions have also been made by certain institutions in Georgia and South Carolina. Eventually these demonstrations of the possibility of conserving the home will no doubt result in state-wide provision.

Unfortunately, in a number of states the existing provisions of the mothers' aid laws have not been carried out. The law passed in Maryland in 1916 was defective and became inoperative, and only two counties specifically included in a later act have made grants. In Florida the law has applied only to children of school age, and only during the period of the school term, which in some parts of the state is said to be exceedingly limited; moreover, aid has been granted only to white families. In Texas and Arkansas comparatively little use has been made of the law outside of the large cities. In Tennessee only one county has made any extensive use of the law, and the application is quite limited also in Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Vermont. Virginia, with an excellent law carefully drafted by the Children's Code Commission a few years ago, reports that mothers' aid has been given from public funds in only four or five localities; the state has one hundred counties.

A number of other states would be included in any attempt to list those in which there is less than 50 per cent application of the law authorizing grants from public funds for the care of children in

their own homes. In most of these states the fault is not with the law but with its administration. When the law was safely on the statute books the interest of the public in the humanitarian principle was overshadowed by a desire for economy. The test of a law is its administration, not whether its provisions include all the items that might be devised for a "model law."

The principles that have been written into many of the laws and that have been carried out more or less adequately in a considerable portion of the localities granting public aid to children in their own homes are: careful inquiry into the needs and resources of the families being considered for grants; aid given in accordance with the needs and accompanied by other measures that may be necessary for the well-being and protection of the children; continued oversight of the families while they are receiving aid, in order that public funds may not be wasted and to make sure that the children are receiving real benefit from the expenditure. Where these principles are applied, mothers' aid becomes an effective instrument in the prevention of child dependency.

The question is often asked whether there is evident as yet any "norm" of expenditures and of the number of children needing such aid, in relation to the populations of various areas. Probably no such norm can ever be looked for. Conditions in each state and in the various localities within a state are the combined result of many factors, and child caring methods will continue for a long time to come to be influenced by the types of organizations that have been developed in each locality, though some of them are monuments to outgrown theories or chance benefactions. But it is nevertheless of value to take note of what is occurring in the various states and local communities, and to compare one with another. The experience in certain places may be taken as indicating the normal trend, showing the results of efforts toward good standards of aid for the families under care. Others give clear evidence of inadequacy, though differences in local conditions must be given due weight.

#### COMPARATIVE EXTENT OF AID IN VARIOUS STATES

The laws relating to mothers' aid in nineteen states place upon some state board or department administrative responsibility for

supervisory authority over the local units.<sup>1</sup> In eight more states the local agency administering the mothers' aid law is required to furnish periodic reports to a state board or official. In seventeen states there is no form of state control specified in the law. Inquiries were directed to the proper official in all the forty-two states then having mothers' aid laws, but no information could be furnished by sixteen of them, and two did not have recent data. The sixteen reporting that they had no data included two whose laws specifically say that reports shall be made to a specified state board, and on the other hand, data were received from four states not included in those given specific authority to require reports from the local units.

Information was obtained on the following items: (1) the number of families receiving aid on January 1, 1927 (or on a specified date); (2) the number of children for whose benefit aid was granted; (3) the expenditure during the calendar year 1926, or other fiscal year, for aid to families; (4) the expenditure during the same year for administration; (5) the average monthly grant per family.

Twenty-four states and the District of Columbia furnished information on the numbers aided on a specified date, from which the following data have been compiled.<sup>2</sup> In order to permit comparison of the extent of mothers' aid in the various states the ratios are figured on the basis of the number of children granted aid per 10,000 of the total population of the state as estimated by the United States Bureau of the Census for July 1, 1926. See list on page 440.

In some of the states the low rank is attributable in part to limitations of the law specifying the persons to whom aid may be granted. But in only three of the states included in the list—Connecticut, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania—is the application of the law so restricted that it must have an appreciable influence on the ratio given.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the time the study was made forty-two states had mothers' aid laws; since then Kentucky and Mississippi have been added. These two are included in the classifications of types of laws, in order that these may be up to date.

<sup>2</sup> See Children's Bureau publication, *op. cit.*, for data on numbers of children, numbers of families, expenditures, and populations of administrative areas.

<sup>3</sup> The following states are classified as having broad inclusions of persons to whom aid may be granted: Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New

Five of the other states whose ratios are below the median have laws that are broad in their inclusions of persons to whom aid may be granted, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Indiana, North Carolina, Virginia; and in three, Arizona, Vermont, and Louisiana, the

State	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population	State	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population
Minnesota.....	38	Rhode Island.....	17
South Dakota.....	34	Connecticut.....	14
Michigan.....	33	Pennsylvania.....	13
Wisconsin.....	33	New Hampshire.....	11
New York.....	30	Oklahoma.....	8
Idaho.....	28	Arizona.....	7
New Jersey.....	27	District of Columbia.....	7
Montana.....	27	Indiana.....	6
Delaware.....	26	North Carolina.....	5
Maine.....	24	Vermont.....	4
Oregon.....	19	Louisiana.....	2
Colorado.....	18	Virginia.....	1
Massachusetts.....	18		

inclusions may be classed as medium. In the District of Columbia the mothers' aid law was passed so recently that a fair comparison cannot be made. Nine of the states reporting from 18 to 38 children aided per 10,000 of the total population have broad inclusions, three medium, and one limited. It is significant to note that in the five states in which the ratios are 30 or more the laws have broad application.

#### AID GRANTED IN LARGE CITIES AND COUNTIES

Because of the concentration of social problems in the cities and their organized family and child welfare activities, it is to be ex-

Jersey (including general law relating to dependent children), New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

Those classed as having medium inclusions are: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Louisiana, Montana, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Those with limited inclusions are: Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Florida, Maryland, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, and Jackson County (until the law was changed in 1927), and St. Louis, Missouri, which have separate provisions from the state law.

For details of legislation, see United States Children's Bureau Publication, *A Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes*, Legal Chart No. 3 (Washington, 1925), and Publication No. 162, previously cited.



pected that the greatest development of mothers' aid administration will be found in the larger cities. In this survey an effort was made to obtain data from all cities with populations over 100,000 or counties containing such cities. The information requested was the same as for the states.

The county is the administrative unit in all states except Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. In Virginia it may be county or municipality, and there is a special provision for St. Louis, Missouri, which is not a part of any county. For the other states the data obtained relate to counties, though the selection was made on the basis of the population of the largest city located in the county, which is usually the center of the administrative machinery. According to the population estimates by the United States Bureau of Census applying to July 1, 1926, there were 84 cities in the United States with populations over 100,000. Only four of these cities, Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, and Louisville,<sup>1</sup> are located in states which had no general mothers' aid law. Mothers' aid laws were, accordingly, applicable to 80 of the largest cities in the country.<sup>2</sup> The information requested was obtained from 63.<sup>3</sup> Five counties containing cities of over 100,000 reported that they made no mothers' aid grants.<sup>4</sup>

The data given in the following paragraphs relate to 62 counties or cities with population exceeding 100,000. The total city population included is nearly half the total urban population of the United

<sup>1</sup> A mothers' aid law was passed in Kentucky in 1928, and plans were made for administration of aid in the county in which Louisville is located.

<sup>2</sup> Washington, D.C., is included in the state list.

<sup>3</sup> Adequate reports were not received from nine counties in which it is known that mothers' aid is being granted, and from three for which it is not known whether grants have been made. These include five counties in New Jersey where administration is by the state, and county data are not compiled separately; and Genesee County (Flint), Michigan, Mahoning County (Youngstown) and Summit County (Akron), Ohio, and Spokane County, Washington, from which no data were received.

Three counties for which it is not known whether aid is granted gave no information: Hillsborough County (Tampa), Florida; Wyandotte County (Kansas City), Kansas; and Tarrant County (Fort Worth), Texas.

<sup>4</sup> Information was received that no grants have been made in Orleans Parish (New Orleans), Louisiana; Davidson County (Nashville), Tennessee; Bexar County (San Antonio) and El Paso County, Texas; and Norfolk County (or city of Norfolk), Virginia.

States, and approximately one-fourth of the total population of the country.

For the purpose of comparing the application of aid in the various cities or counties the following ratios are computed on the basis of the number of children granted aid on January 1, 1927, or other specified date, per 10,000 of the total population of the city or county as estimated by the Bureau of the Census for July 1, 1926.

Comparison of the data for these areas with those relating to entire state populations show the differences in the application of mothers' aid in the large cities and in smaller cities and in more sparsely settled communities in most of the states. No doubt the need for aid is more pronounced in the larger cities, but provision appears to be disproportionately inadequate outside the large centers of population.

County or City	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population	County or City	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population
Lowell, Mass.....	53	Los Angeles Co., Calif.....	21
Salt Lake County, Utah.....	45	Stark Co. (Canton), Ohio.....	21
New York City (inc. the five boroughs) 44		Wayne Co. (Detroit), Mich.....	21
San Francisco Co., Calif.....	41	Dallas Co. (Dallas), Tex.....	20
Boston, Mass.....	39	New Haven, Conn.....	20
Ramsey Co. (St. Paul), Minn.....	39	Providence, R.I.....	20
Alameda Co. (Oakland), Calif.....	37	Erie Co. (Buffalo), N.Y.....	19
Cambridge, Mass.....	33	King Co. (Seattle), Wash.....	19
Pierce Co. (Tacoma), Wash.....	31	St. Louis Co. (Duluth), Minn.....	19
Franklin Co. (Columbus), Ohio.....	30	Worcester, Mass.....	19
Montgomery Co. (Dayton), Ohio.....	30	Berks Co. (Reading), Pa.....	18
New Bedford, Mass.....	29	Fall River, Mass.....	17
Polk Co. (Des Moines), Iowa.....	29	Westchester Co. (Yonkers), N.Y.....	16
San Diego Co., Calif.....	29	Lynn, Mass.....	15
Duval Co. (Jacksonville), Fla.....	28	Multnomah Co. (Portland), Ore.....	15
Kent Co. (Grand Rapids), Mich.....	27	Oklahoma Co. (Okla. City), Okla.....	15
Somerville, Mass.....	25	Waterbury, Conn.....	15
Hamilton Co. (Cincinnati), Ohio.....	24	Allegheny Co. (Pittsburgh), Pa.....	14
New Castle Co. (Wilmington), Del.....	24	Cuyahoga Co. (Cleveland), Ohio.....	14
Milwaukee Co. (Milwaukee), Wis.....	24	Philadelphia Co., Pa.....	14
Albany Co. (Albany), N.Y.....	22	Erie Co. (Erie), Pa.....	13
Denver Co. (Denver), Colo.....	22	Onondaga Co. (Syracuse), N.Y.....	13
Lucas Co. (Toledo), Ohio.....	22	Shelby Co. (Memphis), Tenn.....	12
Oneida Co. (Utica), N.Y.....	22	Hartford, Conn.....	11
Douglas Co. (Omaha), Neb.....	21	Lackawanna Co. (Scranton), Pa.....	11
Hennepin Co. (Minneapolis), Minn..	21	Bridgeport, Conn.....	10

County or City	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population	County or City	Number of Children Receiving Aid per 10,000 Total Population
Cook Co. (Chicago), Ill. ....	10	Springfield, Mass. ....	6
Tulsa Co., Okla. ....	10	Jackson Co. (Kansas City), Mo. ....	4
Monroe Co. (Rochester), N.Y. ....	10	St. Louis, Mo. ....	4
Allen Co. (Ft. Wayne), Ind. ....	9	Richmond, Va. ....	4
Harris Co. (Houston), Tex. ....	7	Marion Co. (Indianapolis), Ind. ....	1

The median ratio is 20; that is, twenty-nine of the cities or counties represented gave grants to more than 20 children per 10,000 of the total population; three had a ratio of 20; and thirty aided fewer than 20 children per 10,000 of the population.

The low rank of some of the cities in this comparative list of ratios is in part attributable to the limitations of the state laws governing the grants that may be made. Reference should be made in this connection to the analysis of the inclusion of persons to whom aid may be granted in the foregoing section on state ratios. However, that the low figures are more frequently indicative of inadequate appropriations or other limitations of the local administration is evident by the fact that seventeen of the cities or counties in the list that are located in states having broadly inclusive laws reported grants to 20 or more children per 10,000 of the total population, while the ratios in thirteen cities in such states are below this median figure. Of cities located in states whose inclusion of persons to whom aid may be given may be classed as medium, ten reported grants to 20 or more children per 10,000 of the population, and four had lower ratios. Five cities in which the application of the state law is limited are above the median, and thirteen are below.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the ratios given in the foregoing list, attention should be called to certain outstanding improvements in the situation within the past months. In Cook County, Illinois, beginning in 1927 an increased appropriation made it possible for the Mothers' Pension Department of the Juvenile Court to give aid to a large number of applicants who could not be provided for before because of lack of funds, and to accept new applications. On July 1, 1928, the number of children given aid was 4,898 as compared with 3,330 on January 1, 1927. Thus the ratio to the population was approximately 14 instead of 10 as given in the foregoing list. Through the increase granted by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1927, equally striking improvements have been made in the mothers' allowance work in various Pennsylvania counties, mainly through the granting of assistance to families previously on the waiting list. The counties in which Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are located each added approximately one thousand children, so that the ratios based on the data for July 1, 1928, are 19 and 21 as compared with 14 as given in the preceding list.

City		City	
<b>Connecticut:</b>		<b>Massachusetts:</b>	
Bridgeport.....	\$o. 23	Boston.....	\$o. 95
Hartford.....	o. 23	Cambridge.....	o. 74
New Haven.....	o. 41	Fall River.....	o. 34
Waterbury.....	o. 26	Lowell.....	o. 01

City  
Massachusetts: *Cont.*

Lynn.....	\$0.39
New Bedford.....	0.41
Somerville.....	0.41
Springfield.....	0.13
Worcester.....	0.35

## Missouri:

St. Louis.....	0.05
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## County

## California:

Alameda.....	\$0.83
San Diego.....	0.48

## Colorado:

Denver.....	0.34
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## Delaware:

New Castle.....	0.23
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## Florida:

Duval.....	0.19
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## Illinois:

Cook.....	0.22
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## Indiana:

Allen.....	0.05
Marion.....	0.03

## Iowa:

Polk.....	0.25
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## Michigan:

Kent.....	0.42
Wayne.....	0.44

## Minnesota:

Hennepin.....	0.27
Ramsey.....	0.55
St. Louis.....	0.31

## Missouri:

Jackson.....	0.03
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## Nebraska:

Douglas.....	0.16
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## New York:

Albany.....	0.35
Erie.....	0.37
Monroe.....	0.15
Onondaga.....	0.21

## City

## New York:

New York City.....	\$0.87
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## Rhode Island:

Providence.....	0.27
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## Virginia:

Richmond.....	0.04
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## County

New York: *Cont.*

Oneida.....	\$0.37
Westchester.....	0.33

## Ohio:

Cuyahoga.....	0.25
Franklin.....	0.32
Hamilton.....	0.42
Lucas.....	0.22
Montgomery.....	0.19
Stark.....	0.23

## Oklahoma:

Oklahoma.....	0.06
Tulsa.....	0.05

## Oregon:

Multnomah.....	0.18
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## Pennsylvania:

Allegheny.....	0.17
Berks.....	0.25
Erie.....	0.17
Lackawanna.....	0.19
Philadelphia.....	0.18

## Tennessee:

Shelby.....	0.14
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## Texas:

Dallas.....	0.12
Harris.....	0.04

## Utah:

Salt Lake.....	0.27
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## Washington:

King.....	0.35
Pierce.....	0.31

## Wisconsin:

Milwaukee.....	0.30
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## STANDARDS OF AID

It is a recognized principle of good mothers' aid administration that the grant to be made to a family should be determined after careful study of the amount required to maintain a proper standard of living, supplying the difference between the family budget and existing resources. The resources may consist of earnings of the mother, earnings of older children, aid from relatives or from church or other organizations having a special interest in the family, income from the rent of a part of their dwelling, and so forth. Sometimes, because of limitations imposed by the law or made necessary by inadequate appropriations, supplementary aid must be obtained from other public or private relief agencies. This policy is by no means general in practice. In some localities it is possible for the agency administering mothers' aid to carry out the budget principle, but more frequently its own funds are limited and adequate subsidies cannot be obtained from private relief agencies because their funds or their policies do not permit.

In eight states—Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Rhode Island, and Virginia—the laws do not restrict the amount of aid that may be granted a family, but provide that the amount may be fixed by the administrative agency in accordance with what is needed by each family to provide properly for the children. The amount that may be granted in New York State is not to exceed the cost of institutional care. In the other thirty-five states maximum amounts are specified in the law, ranging from \$20 to \$70 per family a month, figured on the basis of three children to a family, the usual average. Further limitation is found in the laws of eleven states which permit a maximum of from \$40 to \$60 a month for a family of any size. Obviously, when the family needs are determined according to the budget method, utilizing all existing resources, a considerable proportion of families will be provided for adequately even within these restricted limits. But there will be many instances in which there are no other resources, or in which the size of the family makes the maximum aid that may be granted inadequate to supply the needs. Even when the amount is not restricted by law or when the maximum grant might be sufficient, the funds available or the policies—or lack of policies—of the official making the grants frequently deprive the families of the aid



needed. One large city reported, for example, that the usual monthly grant per family was \$5, but "one mother is given \$14 a month—she has five children." That is, however, an extreme case for the group of large cities, where the needs are usually better recognized than they are in small cities or rural communities.

Consideration must be given to differences in the cost of living, the climate, and the density of population in the various states and localities. Nevertheless the following data on average monthly grants per family point to very serious inadequacies in some states if the situation in others is to be taken as a rough indication of the amounts required.<sup>1</sup>

State	Average Monthly Grant per Family	State	Average Monthly Grant per Family
Massachusetts.....	\$60.00	Vermont.....	\$25.70
Rhode Island.....	52.00	Wisconsin.....	23.89
Connecticut.....	47.70	South Dakota.....	23.60
New York.....	42.50	Arizona.....	22.80
Pennsylvania.....	36.35	Delaware.....	21.60
Colorado.....	28.36	New Hampshire.....	20.50
Maine.....	27.12	Ohio.....	19.20
Michigan.....	27.12	North Carolina.....	18.35
Montana.....	26.30	Virginia.....	15.60
New Jersey.....	26.30	Louisiana.....	15.35
Minnesota.....	25.90	Idaho.....	14.12

It is, of course, unwise to attempt to judge as to the adequacy or inadequacy of the grants merely by these averages, but it may be assumed that differences in the cost of living and population differences do not account to an appreciable extent for the differences between the states in which the monthly grants average less than \$20, those reporting amounts from \$20 to \$30, and those where the grants average up to \$60 a month per family. It is more likely that the explanation would be found in the adequacy of the funds available and in the policies of the administrative agencies.

Data for cities with populations of 100,000 or over and for counties containing such cities may be compared more fairly, though the cost of living varies to some extent even here. The average

<sup>1</sup> In some instances the amount was estimated by dividing the total annual expenditures for aid to families by the number of families receiving aid on a specified date, the average for the year. This was done for Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Montana, New Hampshire, Ohio. The others were furnished by the administrative or supervisory agency.

monthly grant per family was reported upon by the following counties or cities, or was estimated on the basis of data given by them in regard to expenditures during a year and the number of families aided.

County or City	Average Monthly Grant per Family	County or City	Average Monthly Grant per Family
Springfield, Mass.....	\$65.60*	Monroe County (Rochester), N.Y.....	\$39.60
Cambridge, Mass.....	63.20	Berks County (Reading), Pa....	38.80
Fall River, Mass.....	60.00	Erie County (Erie), Pa.....	38.53
New Bedford, Mass.....	58.20	Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio.....	38.13
Marion County (Indianapolis), Ind.....	57.31*	Ramsey County (St. Paul), Minn.	38.00
Oneida County (Utica), N.Y....	56.88	San Diego County, Calif.....	36.50
Erie County (Buffalo), N.Y....	56.10	St. Louis, Mo.....	35.90
Wayne County (Detroit), Mich..	55.76	Albany County (Albany), N.Y..	35.69
Worcester, Mass.....	55.76	Milwaukee County, Wis.....	33.01
Somerville, Mass.....	55.70	Lackawanna County (Scranton), Pa.....	32.88
Westchester County (Yonkers), N.Y.....	54.78	Franklin County (Columbus), Ohio.....	29.40
Lowell, Mass.....	54.10	Stark County (Canton), Ohio...	28.78
Lynn, Mass.....	53.57	Richmond, Va.....	28.70
Boston, Mass.....	53.15	Shelby County (Memphis), Tenn.	26.35
Bridgeport, Conn.....	50.70	Lucas County (Toledo), Ohio...	25.00
Alameda County (Oakland), Calif.	50.50	Los Angeles County, Calif.....	23.00
Cook County (Chicago), Ill.....	50.50	Newcastle County (Wilmington), Del.....	22.70
Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio.....	49.64	Allen County (Fort Wayne), Ind.	22.50
New Haven, Conn.....	48.60	Multnomah County (Portland), Ore.....	20.00
Hartford, Conn.....	47.10	King County (Seattle), Wash....	18.40
Denver County, Colo.....	46.20	Polk County (Des Moines), Iowa	17.73
Providence, R.I.....	45.85	Douglas County (Omaha), Neb..	15.97
San Francisco County, Calif....	45.50	Jackson County (Kansas City), Mo.....	15.00
New York.....	45.00	Harris County (Houston), Tex..	14.93
Kent County (Grand Rapids), Mich.....	44.26	Duval County (Jacksonville), Fla.	14.46
Waterbury, Conn.....	42.90	Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio.....	13.50
Hennepin County (Minneapolis), Minn.....	41.50	Dallas County (Dallas), Tex....	12.92
Onondaga County (Syracuse), N.Y.....	41.02	Salt Lake County, Utah.....	10.50
St. Louis County (Duluth), Minn.	40.50	Tulsa County (Tulsa), Okla....	12.30
Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pa.....	39.82	Oklahoma County (Oklahoma City), Okla.....	9.00
Philadelphia County, Pa.....	39.72		

\* It should be noted that these two localities, though high in this list, rank near the bottom of the lists on number of children receiving aid per 10,000 of the population, and on expenditure for aid per capita of the population.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF ADEQUATE FUNDS

Significant facts regarding the social meaning of adequate aid were furnished by a study made in 1926 by the Mothers' Assistance Fund Division of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare. The importance of the budget system in planning the aid to be granted to the families is also brought out. The study shows the way in which shortcomings of the grants had to be compensated for—premature employment of children who should have continued in school, poorly paid home work by mothers, employment of mothers away from the home when they were needed there for the proper care and protection of the children, work that was beyond the physical strength of the mother, housing conditions below proper standards for health, and other injuries to the home life brought about by the lack of a few dollars a week or month that nullified the benefits derived from the public money expended for the family.

The incomes of 2,404 families receiving grants from the Mothers' Assistance Fund were analyzed to show sources. It was found that families by their own efforts raised 57 per cent of the total income. Of the whole amount the earnings of mothers represented 21 per cent; earnings of older children, 23 per cent; and of children fourteen and fifteen years of age, 4 per cent. Relatives contributed 2 per cent of the family income, and 7 per cent came from lodgers and boarders.

The Mothers' Assistance Fund grants constituted 39 per cent of the total family income. Four per cent of the total incomes were derived from sources other than the family itself and the Mothers' Assistance Fund grants, most of this amount being from charitable relief.

The main purpose of the study was to analyze the sources of income as to their desirability or undesirability from the point of view of the welfare of the family. The work of the mother was classed as desirable if her health was good, the work was suitable, and if the children were receiving adequate home care. The work of children fourteen and fifteen years of age during vacations and after school, or if the child had reached his "educational limit," was considered desirable.

Of the 2,404 mothers, 1,477 supplemented the family income by some form of work, and 382 children fourteen and fifteen years of

age were employed. Of the mothers, 59 per cent were engaged in work which the investigator considered desirable, that is, they were not overworking and the children were not neglected; but 41 per cent of the working mothers were engaged in work that was detrimental to their health or which meant that the children had to be neglected.

Of the working children, 51 per cent who were employed during vacations or after school or were working full time appeared to have received the "maximum benefit offered by the present educational system." The remaining 49 per cent were working full time, had good school records, but had been obliged to leave school to help support the family.

About one-ninth of the whole number of families were receiving charitable relief. Under present conditions, because of inadequate appropriations, it is necessary for charitable relief to supplement many of the grants, but the study found that such relief was for the most part scanty, irregular, and poorly administered.

In 8 per cent of the families there were two or more undesirable sources of income in the same family. Of the families studied, 44 per cent had undesirable sources of income.

On the basis of the data obtained in this and other studies in Pennsylvania, it was estimated that a total of \$4,000,000 a year should be supplied by the state and counties in order that adequate assistance might be given to the families coming under the definition of the mothers' assistance law. The Legislature in 1927 made an appropriation which will bring the amount to about 70 per cent of the total deemed necessary for adequate aid. It is expected that this will enable the counties to wipe out their waiting lists, but it will not be possible to give the assistance found to be required for adequate aid in accordance with the budget needs of each family.

#### THE COST OF ADEQUATE ADMINISTRATION

The amount of aid given is not of itself a criterion of the character of the administration of aid. Sometimes there is quantity of relief without quality of service, even though thorough investigation may have discovered the material assistance required. Constructive family case work implies much more than supplying financial aid, and aid to mothers and dependent children calls for the highest

grade of service. If the financial aid is to be really effective, assurance must be given that conditions in the home are conducive to the well-being of the children for whose benefit the grants are made.

Among the many forms of service given the families by the best administrative agencies are: assistance to the mother in adjusting business matters; education of the mother in home-making and in economical buying and preparation of food; careful attention to the health of the mother and each of the children, correcting physical defects and emphasizing prevention of disability; checking up on the school records of the children, enforcing proper use of the educational opportunities offered, and helping the exceptional child and the child in need of special types of training to obtain education suited to his capacity and needs; assisting the mother in dealing with conduct difficulties and in giving the children spiritual and moral training that will develop stability of character. When it is found desirable for a mother to work away from the home in order to supply part of the maintenance, care must be taken that this is not done at the expense of the family life and the welfare of the children. If the aid granted from public funds is to be used in the most economical and effective way, it means much more than the mere giving of a regular allowance once or twice a month.

The general public has not yet reached the point where it looks with equanimity upon expenditures for the administration of family relief work. There are many people who do not face the fact that aid is rarely given, except from individual to individual, without some expenditure for the upkeep of the person distributing the benefactions, whether this be in the form of a fair salary for the so-called professional social service worker or undefined provision for the subsistence of the worker who takes pride in doing all for charity. It is still the idea in many localities that nothing or next to nothing should be spent for administering such a form of charity as mothers' aid. The law sometimes specifies that "none of the funds so granted may be spent for administration." Consequently the fund is placed at the disposal of a poor-law official who adds this to his business of granting doles to the poor of his county. His left hand literally does not know what his right hand is doing. Often he is all for economy in grants, which may, in the circumstances, be safer than blind

generosity. There are some ten to fifteen states where administration is at a very low ebb outside of the largest cities.

It was not possible to obtain data on administrative expenses for many of the agencies doing mothers' aid work, but a number of cities or counties furnished data which afford interesting comparisons. It may be assumed that the localities represented in this list are among those in the highest rank. From these percentages the figures would grade down to the vanishing point if a more representative group could be reported on.

The Pennsylvania law specifies that not more than 10 per cent of the total appropriation may be used for administrative purposes. The five counties of this state from which figures were obtained reported spending approximately 10 per cent. This amount is held, at least in some of these counties, to be too small to permit the quality of service that is desirable; 15 per cent of the total appropriation appears to be nearer the amount that should be available for administration. The local administrative agencies in Pennsylvania are special county boards having no other function than the administration of the mothers' assistance fund. It should be noted that the expenditure for the state supervisory work is not included in the percentages given, which relate to local work only.

Special boards for the administration of this form of aid are found also in New York State. For six counties reporting, the proportion of the total expenditure that was used for administration ranged from 3.0 per cent for New York City to 9.4 per cent in Monroe County. The other counties of the state containing cities of more than 100,000 population reported the following percentages for administration: 7.4, 7.1, 6.5, and 5.9.

The special bureau administering "widows' pensions" in San Francisco reported 6.7 per cent, and the county agency in Alameda County (Oakland), California, reported a cost of 8.9 per cent. In Denver County, Colorado, where administration has been delegated by the juvenile court to the county relief agency, the admittedly inadequate expenditure was 2.3 per cent of the total appropriation. The service given in Denver is of very much higher grade than the reported expenditure would indicate; undoubtedly much of the expense is borne by the county without being charged to the mothers' aid work.



The administrative expenditures for mothers' aid by the town boards of public welfare (formerly overseers of the poor) in four of the largest cities of Massachusetts ranged from 2.4 per cent in Lowell to 4.8 per cent in Fall River, with Lawrence 3.7 per cent and New Bedford 2.8 per cent. To each of these should be added, however, 1.5 per cent, which represents the cost of the state's share in supervising grants.

Providence, Rhode Island, where there is a special board, spent 4 per cent of the total appropriation for administrative purposes. The Board of Children's Guardians of Allen County (Fort Wayne), Indiana, reported the administrative cost as 4.3 per cent of the total expended. Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon, reported 7 per cent.

In three Connecticut cities—Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport—the percentages of the total spent for administration were 8.8, 4, and 2.4. In addition, the state administrative agency expended 4.2 per cent, which should be added to the cost for each of the cities, making a range of 13 per cent to 6.6 per cent.

Complete data on the cost of administration of mothers' aid where it is lodged in the juvenile court cannot be obtained. In many instances there is not enough separation of duties of the probation officers or other members of the court staff so that this branch of the work can be reported on separately from other activities. The figures given by the following courts may be presumed to omit some of the overhead properly chargeable to this work, the percentage being based on the salaries and expenses of staff assigned to the mothers' aid department solely. The juvenile court of King County (Seattle), Washington, reported 9.1 per cent; Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio, 9 per cent; Cook County (Chicago), Illinois, 8 per cent; Polk County (Des Moines), Iowa, 7.6 per cent; Ramsey County (St. Paul), Minnesota, 5.7 per cent; St. Louis County (Duluth), Minnesota, 5 per cent; Wayne County (Detroit), 4.6 per cent, and Kent County (Flint), Michigan, 4.1 per cent; Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, 2.3 per cent.

For the states from which data are available for the average of the total expenditures for local administration the figures are as follows: New Jersey, where administration is through the state board of children's guardians, the state paying the cost of adminis-

tration and the counties the cost of the grants, 11.3 per cent; in Delaware, where administration is by a state agency, 10 per cent. For Pennsylvania and New York, excluding the cost of the supervisory work of the state, the percentages spent for administration were 9.1 and 3.4 respectively.

As is the case with respect to the comparative figures on the average amounts of the family grants, a high percentage of cost of administration does not of itself imply a high degree of excellence of the work done. In some instances the percentage is high or low because the number of families dealt with is large or small. This would explain such differences as those reported for New York City and Monroe County, New York, for example; the average cost for overhead is of necessity higher when the load is light. The data on the extent of the aid and the average amounts of grants should be studied in connection with the data on expenses of administration.

The quality of the service rendered must be judged according to the character of the case work done, and not by the size of the staff and the salaries paid, though the one is frequently the corollary of the other. The data presented indicate, however, that cost of administration is a very definite factor that must be taken into account in appropriations for aid to dependent children in their own homes. On the basis of the experience and the opinions expressed by administrative agencies, it may be assumed that the cost of the service should be figured at not less than 10 per cent of the total funds available, and probably it should be about 15 per cent. Administration is in general more adequate in large cities than in more sparsely settled counties, but there is no reason why the cost of good service should be less, on the average, in rural communities than in cities.

#### SIGNS OF PROGRESS

Outstanding as are the shortcomings of the administration of mothers' aid laws in certain states or localities where it has not advanced far from the old-time form of poor relief, the application of the principle of aid to dependent children in their own homes has progressed steadily in the majority of the states. One of the signs of healthy and normal growth is the absence, with some notable exceptions, of the deadly complacent attitude often assumed toward public outdoor relief, "What can you expect of public relief?" Discon-

tent with the standards of mothers' aid is prevalent enough, but it is often shared by the persons charged with the administration of the aid. It is not usually the hopeless dissatisfaction that led to the abolition of public relief in certain cities and that in some other localities expects nothing and therefore gets what is expected. Most of the improvements that have come in the laws governing the amount and application of aid and in the provision of increased appropriations to make the laws effective have come about through the combined efforts of those directly concerned with the administration and the social agencies that face the results of the absence of this form of prevention of child dependency.

It is a common saying that it is much easier to get support for institutions for dependent children than for the work of children's aid or child placing agencies, because the former type of care can be visualized more readily by prospective donors. Fortunately, the idea of conserving a child's own home appeals readily to the imagination even though it does not always succeed in breaking through economic barriers. Some indication of the way in which the idea has gained ground may, however, be seen in data on expenditures in some of the larger states.

During the six-year period 1921-26, inclusive, the increase in expenditures for aid and in the number of children receiving grants were as shown in the following table:

	Increase of Ex- penditure in 1926 over 1921 (Per Cent)	Increase in Num- ber of Children Aided in 1926 over 1921 (Per Cent)
Michigan.....	70	18
Minnesota.....	56	40
New York.....	62	15
Pennsylvania.....	91	42
Wisconsin.....	80	50

In most instances the increase was about the same in proportion, year after year. In contrast to these states, in Massachusetts the amount of the state appropriation, and therefore the amounts expended locally, was the same in 1926 as in 1921, with comparatively small increases during two of the intervening years. The number of children receiving aid in 1926 was about three-fourths of the number

for 1921. This has been said to indicate that Massachusetts has reached the "saturation point" and is providing for all the need. Even a slight acquaintance with the situation in some localities would tend to dispel this idea. But it may nevertheless be assumed that the figures reflect the broad scope of the Massachusetts law and the state aid to the towns, which from the beginning resulted in larger expenditures than in most other states.

Particular attention should be called to the foregoing data on the smaller increase in the number of beneficiaries in relation to the increase in the expenditures for aid. It is evident that as the extent of the need for this form of aid became apparent, more adequate grants have been made to each family. In other words, there has been a definite rise in the standards of aid as well as in the number of children benefited.

Discouraging though the mothers' aid situation is in many states, the grand total of expenditures for aid to dependent children in their own homes makes a formidable showing, especially in view of the fact that most of the states have been granting such aid less than fifteen years. Compared with the hundred-year period of the development of institutional care for dependent children, the result is particularly impressive. The United States Census Bureau reports that there were on February 1, 1923, a total of 151,355 children under care of institutions primarily for dependent children, and 67,168 children under care of child placing agencies, a total of 218,523.<sup>1</sup> In view of recognized inadequacies of the census returns, it may safely be assumed that the total number of dependent children under care of institutions and child placing agencies lies somewhere between 250,000 and 300,000. Approximately two-thirds are in institutions and one-third in foster homes. The estimated total of 200,000 children aided in their own homes by means of public funds is thus at least two-thirds as large as the number of children provided for by institutions and child placing agencies. In a few years the numbers should be reversed, judging by the progress that has been made during the past few years.

What the effect of the development of mothers' aid has been on the population of institutions and the volume of care by child placing

<sup>1</sup> *Children Under Institutional Care, 1923*, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1927).

agencies cannot be demonstrated statistically. But that a definite impression has been made is generally conceded, even though the figures that are sometimes produced to show the trend may have resulted from other social measures tending to decrease dependency as well as from a better conception of the use of the various forms of care for dependent children. That there is still need for better understanding of the value of care in the parental home is evidenced by comparison of data on parental status as reported by institutions and by child caring agencies. From figures compiled by the Federal Children's Bureau it is found that of a group of more than forty thousand children in institutions, approximately 26 per cent were children of widowed mothers. Of a group of over twenty thousand children reported by child caring agencies, on the other hand, 17 per cent were the children of widows. The implication, clearly, is that the institutions had not made the same degree of use of the facilities that existed for aid to children in their own homes. It is highly probable that the agency group had not utilized such aid to its fullest extent, either. When adequate assistance is not available in a state or a community it should be the business primarily of the child caring agencies and institutions to insist that the necessary funds be made available for the task that has been assumed by the public in the care of children in their own homes. By this means they may apply themselves to fulfilling their proper functions of providing institutional or foster-home care for children who cannot be cared for in their own homes, doing a quality instead of a quantity job in their proper field.

The time is approaching when we must make an honest accounting of the cost of inadequate family relief in terms of child dependency. What, for example, is the lesson to be learned from the situation in several of our largest cities where there is no public fund for the relief of families in distress, but where unlimited sums are available from the public treasury for the care of children away from their own homes? With the admitted limitations of family relief funds and the frequently discovered "saturation point" of private philanthropy, can it be doubted that the comparative ease with which children may be supported away from their homes by public funds has meant an unnecessarily high rate of child dependency?

We must face the cost of caring for dependency and learn to

think of the children involved in terms of the best interests of each individual child, rather than, as is all too often the case, letting the deciding factor be the ease with which the expense is met from one pocket or from another of public or private philanthropy. It is not at all uncommon to find a community in which institutional or foster-home care, as the case may be, is resorted to for no very obvious reason other than that "the county pays the bill." Where this has become the established custom one is not likely to find a very great development of the system of aid to children in their own homes, economically wasteful as this policy obviously is. There are also localities where privately supported institutional or foster-home care appears to the public authorities to be so generous that there is no need to supply public funds for aid of children in their own homes. But even more distressing is the situation in the communities where the public treasury subsidizes the care of children away from their homes in a generous and casual manner, while providing very inadequate funds for family aid.

Increasingly adequate and well-applied assistance of families in need, whether through public or private family relief or family service agencies or through public aid to children in their own homes, should point the way to the prevention of the need. In many of the states great gains have been made through workmen's compensation laws, with their even more important accompaniment of prevention of accidents and deaths. Insurance against sickness and unemployment of the head of the family is still in the future. Provision of a "saving wage" as well as a living wage, a familiar slogan of the present Secretary of the Federal Department of Labor, is perhaps the most vital of all the measures for the prevention of family break-up and child dependency. The mothers' aid movement is, after all, falling short of success if it does not continually stress the possibilities of preventing the disabilities with which it deals by means of the fundamental measures of social economy and justice.

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## MARIE BAUM'S *FAMILIENFÜRSORGE*

NEW light is thrown on the subject of "undifferentiated case work" in Germany by an important and recently published book, *Familienfürsorge*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Marie Baum, who is well known among social workers in Germany, particularly for her services in behalf of infant welfare and health work and through her publications on these subjects. She also had an active part in laying the foundations for the splendid example of *Familienfürsorge* as it is carried on in Düsseldorf today. In an earlier article in this *Review*<sup>2</sup> it was explained that the term *Familien Fürsorge*, although it can be literally translated as "family welfare," does not correspond to the so-called family welfare work in America, which is of course primarily and almost exclusively relief work. *Familienfürsorge* in Germany is much more like the undifferentiated case work carried on in some of our small towns and rural counties. This form and method of public welfare work in Germany is also called *Einheitsfürsorge*, signifying unified case work.

In this new book Dr. Baum gives the results of a study she made in 1926 of the various examples of unified or undifferentiated case work as it is organized in connection with the public welfare administration of many of the German cities, both large and small. Her study was made under the auspices of the Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge (German Society for Public and Private Welfare Work). This society had been interested in the subject for a number of years; in 1921 a special committee was created to study the possibilities of developing the subject, and in 1925 it was made the topic of one of the annual conferences of the society.

Dr. Polligkeit, executive secretary of this organization, in discussing the new study, explains that undifferentiated case work, which has increasingly gained prestige in Germany, had not always

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 219 (Karlsruhe: G. Braun). Public interest in this subject in Germany is indicated by the fact that the first edition was almost completely sold out before its publication.

<sup>2</sup> See "Undifferentiated Case Work in Germany," this *Review*, I, 621-31.

followed definite principles and objectives in its development. For that reason, he says, it seemed necessary now, not only to describe the experiments that are being made and critically to evaluate them, but it seemed equally essential to throw further light on fundamental principles.

Dr. Baum supplements this statement by saying that her study was undertaken because of the uncertainty and confusion of opinions and practice in the field of *Familienfürsorge* and the great variety of ways it is carried on. The method of investigation employed was the personal study of the organizations in a limited number of cities.

*Familienfürsorge* is defined by Dr. Baum as welfare service rendered in a given district in a unified way according to the methods of case work. Whether the services are primarily for relief, health, or the care of children depends upon the needs of the case. Aid may be given in the form of indoor or outdoor relief; the work may be of a preventive, corrective, or rescue nature; the aim being, however, to develop the inherent powers of the family itself.

The three earliest experiments all grew out of different problems of welfare work. The first, which started in Worms in 1908, grew out of housing service (*Wohnungsfürsorge*); the second developed in Düsseldorf in 1909 out of the local health work (*Gesundheitsfürsorge*); the third, in Charlottenburg out of the welfare work for school children (*Erziehungsfürsorge*). The methods of *Familienfürsorge*, as Dr. Baum points out, are of course not new; they were used by many well-administered private agencies in the past, but almost exclusively in certain city agencies. The early experiments in Worms and Düsseldorf did a great deal to carry the methods to the country also.

All the war work was in terms of family needs; at first, with the breadwinner removed from the family, this work meant keeping the family together and providing means of support; later, as the mothers were called into industrial work, it was necessary to find day homes for the children. District stations were opened in the different areas of the large cities to make counsel and aid more conveniently available to the families. This undifferentiated case work was developed in the urban areas as a unified district service (*Bezirksfamilienfürsorge*) providing health services, correctional work, assistance for the needy, and various preventive services.

Dr. Baum believes that although undifferentiated case work, used in the sense that all branches of social work are carried out by one person, is not now generally accepted in theory nor in practice, nevertheless the theory is sound. The various divisions of social work must be administered by one organization. If specialization is necessary it must still come through the efforts of one administration, and the set of specialized responsibilities must be so distributed that there is no interference with the unit approach to the family, nor with the families' approach to the administration, nor should there be any interference with the making of a unified plan of treatment.

With the reorganization of welfare work after the war it became necessary to redefine guiding principles. Dr. Baum quotes from a report entitled "The Work and Organization of Welfare Bureaus of Cities and Districts," presented at a conference held in 1917 by the Freie Vereinigung für Kriegswohlfahrtspflege (Private Association for War Welfare Work), since she considers the principles enumerated as sound today as they were ten years ago. Briefly these principles may be summarized as follows:

Welfare work must embrace the care of children, health, and relief work. The *Wohlfahrtsamt* (welfare bureau) must be organized to include all public welfare work where there is need for giving counsel, information, individual support, supervision, and care of all kinds to families or individuals. Thus, in place of separately organized services for poor relief, care of orphans, foster children, housing, maternity and infancy, employment, and numerous other forms of social work, a unified organization, *Familienfürsorge*, including all these specialties, must be developed. This should be administered in districts small enough to be managed by a single worker.

Co-operation in social work is of course what Dr. Baum is advocating. Isolated efforts she suggests must be more closely united under a central body. As it is, she thinks that welfare work is carried on with so many different objectives that it is impossible to work out leading principles on a broad basis. New experiments are continually made, and old lessons repeated at the expense of the public. She points out that poor relief administration, the orphan board, and other large organizations in Germany well know the close relationship between housing, delinquency, dependency, etc., and

yet little is done to stimulate interest in better housing, to erect community *Horte* (supplementary day homes for children), and to provide other preventive services. Dr. Baum makes it clear that she is not writing to criticize the work of these groups, but rather to show how fruitless are such isolated efforts. The German plan proposes ultimately bringing both public and private agencies into the scheme.

In Germany, as in the United States, the methods of public welfare administration vary from one section of the country to another, and Dr. Baum describes those that are organized and administered today in terms of *Familienfürsorge*. Only in three cities are the three divisions of health work, child care, and relief (*Gesundheits, Erziehungs, u. Wirtschaftsfürsorge*) combined under one head. In most cities there are two heads: the system in use in Halle a.S. is said to be especially well organized. It is simple in its administration; it eliminates all duplication; and everyone is taken care of. It is so organized that the two public offices, the *Wohlfahrtsamt* and *Jugendamt*, are separate, the former having all cases consisting of families where there are only adults or cases of individual adults, the latter all families where there are minors.

Düsseldorf is said to have the greatest unity of organization. The *Jugendamt* (Child Welfare Bureau), *Wohlfahrtsamt* (General Welfare Bureau), and the *Gesundheitsamt* (Health Bureau) are all under one head. The different divisions of work are in the hands of a business manager; in one division he is a general administrator, in another a physician. There is a special division for war pensioners and their families and for the school medical aid which is a part of the school administration. They are, however, both directly connected with the one district system of administration (*Bezirksfamilienfürsorge*).

It is encouraging that Dr. Baum lays stress on the social legislative objectives of welfare work. She points out that social welfare and social politics have their origin in the same problems, and that the only difference between them is the manner of approach. Social work must therefore never lose sight of the social-political objective. "The great problem of social welfare work is that it experiences the

effects of all weaknesses of the body politic and theoretically lays bare the causes; generally speaking, however, it is limited to the treatment of symptoms, and has not the power to alter the causes."

In discussing the methods of the *Familienfürsorge* the point is emphasized that, in making an investigation or in setting up a plan for treatment, it is not the problem of the individual that is made the point of departure, but rather the entire family situation. Dr. Baum notes that the greatest weakness of the German case records is that so much important information is not noted; further, that the social workers who can compile such information better than anyone else are not willing to neglect their regular work in order to make complete record of their knowledge of a case. She realizes that adequate case work cannot be done under the heavy case load that the German workers have to carry. Several cases are cited in order, as she says, to show the public welfare officials the amount of time and energy that is necessary to make an adequate investigation and provide the requisite supervision.

Frequent reference is made to the value of American methods of case work investigation and the help German social workers may derive from the study of recent collections of case records and discussions of case work methods in this country. Dr. Baum comments that in reading them one realizes the great interest in the subject in the United States and the stress laid on the making of an adequate diagnosis and setting up a careful plan of treatment. By way of illustration she gives a short sketch of the Isenberg case as given in Dr. Sophonisba Breckinridge's *Family Welfare Work*, and says, "One feels the strong desire to bring back the initiative (*Eigenkraft*) and self-confidence of the family by giving them the necessary help and support from outside." But Dr. Baum thinks that the case presented by Dr. Breckinridge illustrates certain advantages which she thinks exist in the German social service system as compared with the American because of the German social insurance system. The help that would have been forthcoming under the new unemployment insurance (*Erwerbslosenfürsorge*) and the sickness insurance (*Krankenversicherung*) in a case like that of the Isenberg family would have provided assistance long before an appeal to a social

welfare agency would be made, and the conditions, which in this case called for a great deal of difficult remedial work, would have been prevented.

Dr. Baum does not think the German situation satisfactory, and she speaks plainly on the subject of "case load" and some other problems that are exigent to the social worker. Figures are given showing the heavy case load of the average social worker in various cities.

Two case records presented by Dr. Baum serve as interesting illustrations of the problems and methods of social case work in Germany and have been translated quite literally:

#### TWO GERMAN CASE RECORDS

1. *The N Family*.<sup>\*</sup>—The district family welfare worker's report is as follows:

Family N is made up of a father, who lost his eye during the war and who at present suffers with rheumatism, and a tuberculous mother, in and about whom all trouble and care centers, but who gives her last bit of strength to her six children, who range from one to fourteen years in age. The youngest child shows difficulty in sitting, even though he is already seventeen months old; a son of four years has just a short time ago learned to walk, and still shows signs of rickets; the children in school look very pale but are well. I visited the family in the capacity of a *Wohnungspflegerin* (housing worker) at this time and found the house wretched and the space very inadequate for a family of eight. The house was almost without furniture. There were beds, but they were without bed linen. The family was nine months behind in its rent. The father was steadily employed; a fourteen-year-old son had waited for weeks for a position not yet vacated, but where he was to receive 50 pfennig (about 12 cents) an hour when employed. The landlord had sued for the rent. The employer had already been given orders to hold the salary. It was necessary to act speedily in order to keep the family from complete disintegration.

I saw the agent and the landlord and told them about the poor condition of the house and asked them to make improvements. The agent explained that the house was not kept in good condition because too little rent was paid and that the N family owed rent for nine months. I promised to furnish the back rent if he would withdraw his claims to the father's salary and also repair the house. The agent agreed to do that. Then I applied to the war charity bureau (*Kriegsunterstützungsamt*) for 112 marks (\$28) to pay the back rent for seven months,

<sup>\*</sup> This case record is taken from the booklet entitled *On the Way to Welfare Work* (*Auf dem Wege zur Wohlfahrtspflege*), presented at the Düsseldorf *Einrichtungen*, and prepared by Dr. Josef Wilden.



which period corresponded to the time the father had been in war service. The rent for the remaining months was to be paid by Herr N in instalments. Furthermore, I counseled with Frau N as to whether there might be further possible saving in the household, where everything was already almost at rock bottom. Thus before long the rent was paid. In the meantime the war charity bureau too had agreed to pay the rent, the rights to the salary of the father were withdrawn by the landlord, who besides agreed to pay the incurred court expenses. The painters came, and the hall and the undesirable rooms were whitewashed before Christmas.

The next question was how to provide more room for the family of eight. Looking to see what possibilities there were of an attic, I discovered two attics in which lay old documents belonging to the landlord. I didn't rest now until I had rented one of them for the N family. I visited the family every two weeks, because the mother was sick again. Again I went to the landlord to pay the rent to him and to point out over again the things that still needed repairing in the house. It was no easy matter, for after the rooms had been whitewashed I discovered after a few days that there were large wet spots on the ceiling. The roof also was in need of repair.

In the meantime I had tried in every way to help the family which seemed so entirely helpless in every way. Frau N, who at first received me with much distrust, gradually confided in me more and more and became thankful for all advice; in time her husband also welcomed me. At my suggestion he made an application at the *Ludendorfspende* for help, in order that the removed articles might in part be replaced. At the same time I called the attention of the welfare body (*Fürsorge*) to the great existing need.

I ordered that the youngest child be taken to the infant welfare station, thus making it possible to see that he got cod liver oil, condensed milk, barley flour, grits, shirts, coats, and also linen for his little bed. The two older children I reported to be in need of spending the summer in the country, whereas the mother was sent to be examined at the tuberculosis center. The physician unfortunately confirmed my fear that she was very sick. I had, however, already arranged that her sister take over the household in case it should be necessary for the mother to go to the hospital.

In order that I might have something at Christmas time for this family, which I now had learned to know quite well, I inquired of my acquaintances to see if they might have castoff clothing and old linens. I succeeded in getting a dress, a blouse, a coat, and a night dress for the mother; a jacket and trousers for the ten-year-old boy; a dress for the five-year-old girl; and a shirt and pants for the little one. Aside from these things I was given 50 RM. (\$12.50), for which I bought a sweater for each of the three remaining boys. A generous merchant gave me a Christmas tree; from someone else I got the decorations for it, and in addition enough flour so that the mother could bake some cakes for the children. When I returned after the holidays it seemed as if I found another, a much happier, family. Frau N had resurrected and hung up curtains left over

from the better days of the past; the tree still stood in the bedroom; and everything was clean. Frau N assured me that she had gained new courage to live; she is now strong enough to get along by herself.

2. The second case is one contributed by the Frankfurter Zentrale für private Fürsorge (Centralized Organization for Private Welfare Work). It is a case of a large family who received charitable aid almost continuously from 1912 to 1925, until it was finally possible to find steady employment for the father. The numerous kinds of welfare service that it was necessary to give have been grouped for convenience under different types of aid rendered. Here, as in the Düsseldorf case, a situation is presented in which it was possible to keep the family from total pauperism by giving them the necessary help during the most critical times and up to the time when the children grew up and could help; and, finally, by securing steady employment the state of dependence was entirely removed.

*Family history.*—The father was an unskilled laborer who had been employed in the same firm for a number of years. He was forty-four years old and in 1905 married for a second time.

The mother was thirty-two years old, and was able to carry on her own housework. Her lungs were easily affected.

As for the children, there were two girls from the first marriage, one fourteen, the other thirteen, years old; six children from the second marriage, the ages being twelve, nine, five, three, and two years, and the baby, four weeks old.

*Source.*—The family is referred to us in 1912 by the Verein Kinderschutz (Society for Child Protection), to which had been given the care of the children through the guardianship court because of mistreatment of the children of the first marriage.

*Findings.*—The family, two adults and eight children, live in two crowded rooms, which are, however, thoroughly clean. The father's income can provide for a family of ten. The mother is delicate and a tuberculosis suspect. She and the children peddle newspapers in the afternoon.

The children are delicate; a boy of five and a girl of six are lame; the latter is in the hospital at present.

As far as the reported mistreatment is concerned, we discovered only that the father punishes severely, but it could really not be classified as mistreatment. The older children impress one as being timid; all children are kept clean and look as if they were receiving proper care.

First steps taken:

A. *Erziehungsfürsorge (child care).*—The father receives a warning from the guardianship court (Amtsgericht). There are no more court procedures. The ordered guardianship of 1916 was recalled.

B. *Wohnungsfürsorge* (housing service).—The first efforts made to secure a larger dwelling failed because of the outbreak of the war. By hiring out the girls who were finishing school in 1913 and 1914 the housing situation was greatly improved.

C. *Wirtschaftsfürsorge* (relief-giving).—Contributions from public and private welfare.

D. *Gesundheitsfürsorge* (health service).—The mother was sent to the *Tuberkulosefürsorge*, and extra food was secured for the mother and children.

Further developments in the family situation:

In the years 1914 to 1920 five more children are born and all are living.

The father is not recruited for war service and is therefore at home during the years of the war.

The tubercular condition of the mother has disappeared.

The oldest daughter of the first marriage will be seventeen years old in 1915; she suffers from a nervous condition which makes it necessary to place her frequently in an institution for nervous diseases. In 1918 she had, however, sufficiently improved so she could be placed in a home where under supervision she is able to work.

In 1920 the family is moved to another house.

The employment and the income of the father are frequently irregular, due to war conditions; in 1922, due to the difficulties brought about through the garrison in the Ruhr region, he loses his work entirely. Not until 1925 does he get steady employment again.

The children all develop in a satisfactory way and do all they can to help. Nothing further is known about the children of the first marriage. Of those of the second wife the two oldest children are married. Two children are suffering as the result of infantile paralysis, the boy now twenty years old, and the girl, eighteen. The former works at the employment center for handicapped, mending shoes; the latter, at the same place as a trained seamstress. A sixteen-year-old girl serves as an apprentice in a hair-dressing establishment, and six children are not yet old enough to work.

The family, which continually made a good impression, have lived through the most difficult years and are now ready to help themselves without further outside help. The help given to them during the course of years is as follows:

A. *Wohnungsfürsorge* (housing).—Although much effort was put forth by the *Zentrale für private Fürsorge* and the *Verein zur Bekämpfung der Tuberkulose* (Antituberculosis Society) to find an adequate house for the family, they did not succeed until 1920. To a certain extent the family was of course at fault, because they refused to move out of the district where they were located. They were finally placed in a light roomy dwelling consisting of three rooms in the military barracks that had been converted into dwellings by the public housing administration.

B. *Erziehungsfürsorge* (child care).—The family is put under the supervision

of a worker from the Ausschuss für kinderreiche Familien (Committee for Large Families).

Positions were found for the girls in 1913 and 1914, when they were finishing school.

Special care was given the oldest daughter, who was suffering from a nervous condition. It was necessary to keep the father from taking her out of the hospital too soon; later an easy job had to be found for her in a home.

Provision had to be made for the children of school age so they might visit a *Hort* (day home providing care and leisure-time activities), and for the smaller ones to attend a Kindergarten (day home providing care and leisure-time activities for the pre-school child). Provision too had to be made for the expenses involved.

Further, employment had to be found for Georg, who was finishing school soon as a *Hilfsschüler* (pupil placed in special group because of retardation). He was not able to accept employment until one-half year after finishing school because the boy had to be operated upon again as the result of the paralysis. The matter was dealt with speedily by bringing it to the attention of the Child Welfare Bureau and the Home for Cripples. Later he finds steady employment in the public Arbeits-Zentrale für Erwerbsbeschränkte (Employment Center for the Handicapped).

Again provision had to be made for finding a place where the daughter, who was greatly handicapped in walking and who was finishing school in 1923, might get training as a seamstress. She was taken in for two years of training at the Employment Center for the Handicapped, and since then has been kept there for further work.

C. *Gesundheitsfürsorge* (health care).—Provision was made for sending the children at different times to *Erholungskuren* (places for recuperative care).

Arrangements were made for them to receive school meals, Quaker foods, and sun baths.

Efforts were made to get some mechanical walking facilities for the lame daughter.

When the mother was ill she was given help in the household.

D. *Wirtschaftsfürsorge* (relief-giving).—The public welfare bureau supplemented the rent during the entire time.

The private welfare gave help toward providing better nutrition.

Successful interviews were made with the employer regarding increase of salary of the father; furthermore, adjustments were made with the employer to retain a part of the salary because of advancements that had been made at a previous time.

Employment for the father was found in times of unemployment.

Furnishing and adding to the bedding, clothing, and the household supplies was given, especially when the family was moved.

Money loans were secured from the city poor fund and from helps provided for the needy during the winter months.

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## SOURCE MATERIALS

### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNT OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOSPITAL

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

**B**ENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S account of the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital by act of the provincial legislature in 1751 is important for many reasons. For one thing this document supplements the source material published in our last issue dealing with Benjamin Rush; for another, because of Franklin's own interest in the project. Rush was of course younger than Franklin and was only six years old when the hospital was founded. But he became an early contributor to the hospital as well as a member of the staff. Franklin was one of the members of the first board of managers, the first "clerk" of the Board, and the annual reports of the Hospital were published in his *Gazette*. The history of this eighteenth-century hospital is interesting also as an early example of the co-operative method of financing charitable institutions. The plan here—whether Franklin's or someone else's is not clear—was to ask the legislature to provide funds for the erection of the building, to write to the proprietors (descendants of William Penn) in London with the request that they give land for a site, and to raise by subscriptions the funds needed for upkeep and maintenance.

The foundation stone of the original building, which was laid in May, 1755, bears the following inscription:

In the year of Christ  
MDCCLV  
George the Second happily Reigning  
(For he sought the Happiness of his People)  
Philadelphia Flourishing  
(For its Inhabitants were public spirited)  
This Building  
By the Bounty of the Government,  
And of many private persons,  
Was piously founded  
For the Relief of the Sick and Miserable.  
May the God of Mercies  
Bless the Undertaking.

The plan of the hospital was interesting also because it was planned for the care of the insane as well as of those physically ill, and it represents the first attempt to provide institutional facilities for the insane in America.<sup>1</sup> The hospital board provided, from the beginning, not only for the poor, but for paying patients. Thus an early report says, "After the accommodation of as many poor patients as the state of their funds will justify, the managers have authority to receive pay patients; any profit derived from this source being devoted to increasing the fund for the maintenance of the poor."<sup>2</sup> An effort was made, however, to prevent the hospital from becoming a refuge for chronic cases, or a superior poorhouse. "As this institution," says one of the reports, "is intended to be a hospital for the cure of disease, not a permanent asylum for poverty and decrepitude, the managers can admit none on the charity list whose diseases are chronic and incurable except those afflicted with insanity." And as regards the latter class, the report of 1828 noted that "It has been found necessary to limit the proportion of insane poor on account of the length of time they frequently remained in the house."

In a small pamphlet published in 1828 the need of a separate hospital for the insane is strongly urged: "The Managers of the institution have long had in view, the necessity of providing funds for the erection of a separate asylum for the insane. A very desirable measure, on many accounts, for both classes: the repose of the sick being liable to much disturbance from the noise of the insane; while the narrow limits in which so many of the latter are confined, prevent the adoption of various means, probably adequate to the recovery of many individuals."<sup>3</sup> An appeal is therefore made again in 1828 urging "the wealthy and charitable" not to forget the Pennsylvania

<sup>1</sup> The Virginia Hospital for the Insane was founded in 1769, the first institution exclusively devoted to the care of this group. The Virginia statute establishing the hospital, "An Act to Make Provision for the Support and Maintenance of Idiots, Lunatics, etc.," may be found conveniently reprinted in Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 73-76.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Account of the Origin, Objects, and Present State of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, prepared by William G. Malin, clerk, Roberts Vaux, secretary (Philadelphia, 1828), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.



Hospital in the disposition of their estates. "The want of an asylum for the insane, founded upon a liberal scale, with the advantage of the increased light which modern science has shed on the history of the human intellect," said the report of 1828, "is more urgent than anyone who has not deeply investigated the subject can imagine." The insane were partly accommodated in basement rooms, in a "long garret in which about twelve of the most quiet male patients usually sleep," as well as in the building west of the center, where "the whole range" from basement to attic was occupied by the insane and their attendants.

Another interesting feature of the Pennsylvania Hospital is that it was, from the beginning, a "teaching hospital." In 1828 the report notes that "the students of medicine who attend the practice of the hospital physicians pay a fee of \$10 each for the privilege." The report adds that the fees, which in European hospitals would have been a perquisite of the medical staff, were generously given by the attending physicians to the foundation and endowment of a medical library. Franklin's early account of the hospital needs no introductory comment.

#### Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital<sup>1</sup>

About the end of the year 1750, some persons, who had frequent opportunities of observing the distress of such distempered poor as from time to time came to Philadelphia, for the advice and assistance of the

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Benjamin Franklin, *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital; from Its First Rise to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, Called May, 1754* (Philadelphia: Printed at the Office of the *U.S. Gazette*, 1817; pp. 145); the first edition was published in Philadelphia by B. Franklin and D. Hall, in 1754 (pp. 77). Both editions contain "Continuation of the Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital from the First of May, 1754, to the Fifth of May, 1761, with an alphabetical list of the contributors and the legacies which have been bequeathed for promotion and support thereof from its first rise to that time." The "Continuation" was not written by Franklin, but was issued by the managers of the hospital and prepared by the Committee on Publication, of which Samuel Rhodes was chairman.

The printed reports and accounts of the hospital are of course the most important source of information about it, but various descriptions of it are available, of which a partial list follows: *Some Account of the Origin, Objects, and Present State of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, prepared by William G. Malin, clerk, Roberts Vaux, secretary (Philadelphia, 1828; pp. 24); Philadelphia Citizens' Committee on an Asylum for the Insane Poor of Pennsylvania, *An Appeal to the People of Pennsylvania on the Subject of an Asylum for the Insane Poor of the Commonwealth* (Philadelphia, 1838; pp. 24); *ibid.*, A

physicians and surgeons of that city; how difficult it was for them to procure suitable lodgings, and other conveniences proper for their respective cases, and how expensive the providing good and careful nurses, and other attendants, for want whereof, many must suffer greatly, and some probably perish, that might otherwise have been restored to health and comfort, and become useful to themselves, their families, and the publick, for many years after; and considering moreover, that even the poor inhabitants of this city, though they had homes, yet were therein but badly accommodated in sickness, and could not be so well and so easily taken care of in their separate habitations, as they might be in one convenient house, under one inspection, and in the hands of skilful practitioners; and several of the inhabitants of the province, who unhappily became disordered in their senses, wandered about, to the terrour of their neighbours, there being no place (except the house of correction) in which they might be confined, and subjected to proper management for their recovery, and that house was by no means fitted for such purposes; did charitably consult together, and confer with their friends and acquaintances, on the best means of relieving the distressed, under those circumstances; and an Infirmary, or Hospital, in the manner of several lately established in Great Britain, being proposed, was so generally approved, that there was reason to expect a considerable subscription from the inhabitants of this city, towards the support of such a Hospital; but the expense of erecting a building sufficiently large and commodious for the purpose, it was thought would be too heavy, unless the subscription could be made general through the province, and some assistance could be obtained from the assembly; the following petition was therefore drawn, and presented to the house on the 23d of January, 1750-51.

*To the honourable House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania,*  
 The petition of sundry inhabitants of the said Province,  
 Humbly Sheweth,

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*Second Appeal* (1840; pp. 35); George Bacon Wood, *An Address on the Occasion of the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Delivered June 10, 1851* (Philadelphia, 1851; pp. 141); Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Hospital for Insane, *Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Cornerstone of the New Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane* (Philadelphia, 1856; pp. 30); *ibid.*, *Reports of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, with a Sketch of Its History, Buildings, and Organizations*, by Thomas S. Kirkbride (Philadelphia, 1851; pp. 437); *ibid.*, *Code of Rules and Regulations for the Government of those Employed in the Care of the Patients of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane near Philadelphia*, prepared and printed by authority of the Board of Managers (Philadelphia, 1850; 2d ed., pp. 51); John Forsyth Meigs, *A History of the First Quarter of the Second Century of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (Philadelphia, 1877; pp. 145).

That with the number of people the number of lunaticks, or persons distempered in mind, and deprived of their rational faculties, hath greatly increased in this province.

That some of them going at large, are a terrour to their neighbours, who are daily apprehensive of the violences they may commit; and others are continually wasting their substance, to the great injury of themselves and families, ill disposed persons wickedly taking advantage of their unhappy condition, and drawing them into unreasonable bargains, &c.

That few or none of them are so sensible of their condition as to submit voluntarily to the treatment their respective cases require, and therefore continue in the same deplorable state during their lives; whereas it has been found, by the experience of many years, that above two thirds of the mad people received into Bethlehem Hospital, and there treated properly, have been perfectly cured.

Your petitioners beg leave further to represent, that though the good laws of this province have made many compassionate and charitable provisions for the relief of the poor, yet something farther seems wanting in favour of such whose poverty is made more miserable by the additional weight of a grievous disease, from which they might easily be relieved, if they were not situated at too great a distance from regular advice and assistance, whereby many languish out their lives, tortured perhaps with the stone, devoured by the cancer, deprived of sight by cataracts, or gradually decaying by loathsome distempers; who, if the expense in the present manner of nursing and attending them separately when they come to town, were not so discouraging, might again, by the judicious assistance of physick and surgery, be enabled to taste the blessings of health, and be made in a few weeks useful members of the community, able to provide for themselves and families.

The kind care our assemblies have heretofore taken for the relief of sick and distempered strangers, by providing a place for their reception and accommodation, leaves us no room to doubt their showing an equal tender concern for the inhabitants. And we hope they will be of opinion with us, that a small provincial Hospital, erected and put under proper regulations, in the care of persons to be appointed by this house, or otherwise, as they shall think meet, with power to receive and apply the charitable benefactions of good people towards enlarging and supporting the same, and some other provisions in a law for the purposes abovementioned, will be a good work, acceptable to God, and to all the good people they represent.

We therefore humbly recommend the premises to their serious consideration.

On the second reading of the petition, January 29, the house gave leave to the petitioners to bring in a bill, which was read the first time on the first of February. For some time it was doubtful whether the bill would not miscarry, many of the members not readily conceiving the

necessity or usefulness of the design; and apprehending moreover, that the expense of paying physicians and surgeons, would eat up the whole of any fund that could be reasonably expected to be raised; but three of the profession, viz. Doctors Lloyd Zachary, Thomas Bond, and Phineas Bond, generously offering to attend the Hospital gratis for three years, and the other objections being by degrees got over, the bill, on the seventh of the same month, passed the house, *Nemine Contradicente*, and in May following it received the governour's assent, and was enacted into a law.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the law was published, the promoters of the design set on foot a subscription, which in a short time amounted to considerable more than the sum required by the act. And on the first of the month called July, 1751, a majority of the contributors met at the state house in Philadelphia, and, pursuant to the act, chose by ballot twelve managers, and a treasurer. . . .

The managers met soon after the choice, and viewed several spots of ground in and near the city, which were thought suitable to erect buildings on for this purpose; and agreeing in judgment, that one particular lot,

<sup>1</sup>[The law was called "An act to encourage the establishing of a Hospital for the relief of the sick poor of this province, and for the reception and cure of lunaticks," the preamble being as follows: "WHEREAS the saving and restoring useful and laborious members to a community, is a work of publick service, and the relief of the sick poor is not only an act of humanity, but a religious duty; and whereas there are frequently, in many parts of this province, poor distempered persons, who languish long in pain and misery under various disorders of body and mind, and being scattered abroad in different and very distant habitations, cannot have the benefit of regular advice, attendance, lodging, diet and medicines, but at a great expense and therefore often suffer for want thereof; which inconveniency might be happily removed by collecting the patients into one common provincial Hospital, properly disposed and appointed, where they may be comfortably subsisted, and their health taken care of at a small charge, and by the blessing of God on the endeavours of skilful physicians and surgeons, their diseases may be cured and removed: And whereas it is represented to this assembly, that there is a charitable disposition in divers inhabitants of this province to contribute largely towards so good a work, if such contributors might be incorporated with proper powers and privileges for carrying on and completing the same, and some part of the publick money given and appropriated to the providing a suitable building for the purposes aforesaid: Therefore, for the encouragement of so useful, pious, and charitable a design, . . . be it enacted etc. . . ."]

[The law provided that when the sum of 2,000 pounds had been raised, the treasurer of the Province was to pay 2,000 pounds "in two yearly payments to the Treasurer of the said Hospital to be applied to the founding, building, and furnishing of the same." The law also required an annual publication of expenditures and donations "in the *Gazette* or other newspapers" and provided that the managers must submit "the books, accounts, affairs, and economy thereof, to the inspection and free examination of visitors who might be appointed by the Assembly "to visit and inspect the same."]

belonging to the proprietaries, would suit as well or better than any other, they drew up the following respectful address, and sent it (with the following letter) to Thomas Hyam, and Sylvanus Bevan, to be presented by them to the proprietaries. . . .

## LETTERS TO THE PROPRIETORS AND THE REPRESENTATIVES

*To the honorable Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, esquires, proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.:*

The address of the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

May it please the proprietaries,

It hath been long observed, that this your province, remarkable for the goodness of its constitution, laws, and government, and many other advantages, is yet deficient of a common Hospital or Infirmary, for the relief of such poor as are afflicted with curable diseases.

Your good people here, to supply this defect, and out of a tender charitable regard for their fellow creatures, have voluntarily subscribed, and are still subscribing, large sums towards a stock for the support of such a Hospital: And the general assembly being petitioned by a number of the inhabitants of all ranks and denominations, have passed an act to encourage the same, and granted two thousand pounds for the founding, building, and furnishing thereof.

In pursuance of that act, we the subscribers were, on the first of this instant, chosen by the contributors to be managers of the said Hospital, and think it our duty to take this first opportunity of laying the affair before our proprietaries, in the humble confidence that so good and pious an undertaking will not fail of their approbation; hoping withal, from the accustomed bounty of the proprietary family, in encouraging former designs of publick utility to the people of their province, the present will also receive their kind assistance; and as private persons raise a stock to support the Hospital, and the assembly build the house, so (that all concerned in the province may share in the honour, merit, and pleasure of promoting so good a work) the proprietaries will be pleased to favour us with the grant of a piece of ground for the buildings, and their necessary accommodations.

If anything should occur to the proprietaries, that they may think of service with respect to the management or rules of the Hospital, we should be obliged to them for their sentiments, being desirous that what falls within our duty, may be done to the greatest advantage for the publick. . . .

We are with great respect, your very affectionate friends, JOSHUA CROSBY, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THOMAS BOND, SAMUEL HAZARD, ISRAEL PEMBERTON, JR., HUGH ROBERTS, SAMUEL RHODES, JOSEPH MORRIS, JOHN SMITH, EVAN MORGAN, CHARLES NORRIS.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1751.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 6, 1751

*Esteemed Friends, Thomas Hyam, and Sylvanus Bevan:*

The opinion we have of your beneficent principles, induces us to make this application to you, and we hope the opportunity of exerting your tenderness to the afflicted and distressed, will be so acceptable, as to render any apology unnecessary for our freedom in requesting your friendship in delivering and soliciting the address we herewith send to our proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn.

The circumstances of this province have, in a few years past, been much altered, by the addition of a great number of persons who arrive here from several parts of Europe, many of whom are poor, and settle in remote parts of the country, where suitable provision cannot be made for their relief from the various disorders of body and mind some of them labour under; the consideration of which hath lately raised in many of the inhabitants of this city a benevolent concern, and engaged them to apply for the assistance of the legislature, by whom a law is passed, and some provision made out of the provincial treasury for the erecting a publick Hospital, or Infirmary, under the direction of a corporation, by whom we have lately been elected the managers; but as the publick funds are not sufficient to answer the expense of endowing it, a charitable subscription for that purpose hath been proposed and begun with good success. The necessity and advantages of this institution are so apparent, that persons of all ranks unite very heartily in promoting it; and as several of our most eminent physicians and surgeons have freely offered their service for some years, we have good grounds to expect that this undertaking may be of general service much sooner than was at first expected, and that our legislature will soon make a further provision for the building, which we apprehend it will be prudent to contrive and erect in such manner, as to admit of such additions as the future state of the province may require. The principal difficulty we now labour under, is the want of a commodious lot of ground, in a healthy situation; for (though we have so great encouragement as we have mentioned) we cannot flatter ourselves with speedily raising a sum sufficient to enable us to provide for all other necessary charges, and to purchase a suitable piece of ground so near the built part of the city, as the constant attendance of the physicians, and other considerations, will necessarily require: We are therefore under the necessity of laying the state of our case before our proprietaries, and we hope the same motives which have induced others, will have due weight with them to promote this good work, and that they will generously direct a piece of ground to be allotted for this service.

There are several lots in different parts of this city very suitable, but from their situation, &c. are of great value for other purposes; we have therefore thought of one, which is in a part of the town quite unimproved, and where, in all probability, there will be the conveniency of an open air for many years; it is the vacant part of the square between the Ninth and Tenth streets from



Delaware, on the south side of Mulberry street, and is 396 feet east and west, and 360 feet north and south. The lots in this part of the city have not advanced in value for several years past, and are not likely to be soon settled; so that we are in hopes, if you will favour us with your application for this piece of ground, you will meet with no difficulty in obtaining it.

The interest of the proprietaries and people, are so nearly connected, that it seems to us self-evident that they mutually share in whatever contributes to the prosperity and advantage of the province; which consideration, added to the satisfaction arising from acts of charity and benevolence, will, we hope, have so much weight with them, as to render any other argument superfluous; but as your own prudence will suggest to you the most effectual method of soliciting this address successfully, we rely thereon so much as to think it unnecessary to add any thing more on this occasion, than that your friendship therein will be exceedingly grateful to us and our fellow citizens in general; and next to obtaining the lot we ask for, the most agreeable service you can do us, is to obtain a speedy answer; for the promoting this undertaking appears to us so necessary, that all concerned therein are unanimous in determining to prepare for the building early in the spring next year.

We are, with much respect, your obliged and real friends,

[Signed as before.]

LONDON, JANUARY 17, 1752

*To Messieurs Sylvanus Bevan and Thomas Hyam*

GENTLEMEN: You may inform the directors of the Hospital at Philadelphia, that we sent orders to the Governour, the nineteenth of December, by way of New England, to grant them a piece of ground to build the Hospital upon, though not the piece they asked, yet one of the same size, and where, if it should be necessary, we can grant them an addition.

I am, Gentlemen, your affectionate friend,

THOMAS PENN

#### REMARKS

The design of the Hospital being in itself so beneficent and our honourable proprietaries having fully expressed their approbation of it in strong terms, as well as declared their kind intentions of aiding and assisting it, by granting a valuable tract of land, in a proper place, for a Hospital; all therefore that seems necessary for us to do, is to convince our honourable proprietaries, that the methods by which they have proposed to aid and assist the Hospital, will by no means answer these good intentions, but are really inconsistent therewith.

We must then beg leave to remark in the first place, with regard to the charter, that, as the act of assembly is undoubtedly the best grant of incorporation that we can possibly have, and as the representatives of the

freemen of this province have generously contributed towards the design, we should fail of the respect that is justly due to them, were we to accept of any other, without obtaining some very great and manifest advantage by it; but that there are no such advantages in the charter proposed, is evident at first view: On the contrary, we should by it be confined to stricter limits than we now are, particularly with respect to the power of making by-laws, and being subjected to visitors of the proprietaries' appointment. But that clause which makes the lot (and of consequence the buildings on it) revert to the proprietaries on failure of a succession of contributors, is so weighty an objection, that were there no other, we could not entertain the least thoughts of accepting the charter; for as the sum allowed for support of the Hospital is limited, we may reasonably conclude, that in time there will cease to be a succession of contributors, and no person can imagine that when that happens to be the case, the lot and buildings ought to become the private property of any man. And though the act of assembly hath made provision in a manner which may be liable to some inconveniences, yet it can scarce fail of answering to purposes first intended. The proprietaries, to be sure, have not attended to these consequences, or they never would have proposed any thing so inconsistent with the design they intended to promote.

As to the lot that the proprietaries designed for the Hospital, it is so situated, and so circumstanced, that it will by no means be suitable for the purpose. It is a moist piece of ground, adjoining to the brick yards, where there are ponds of standing water, and therefore must be unhealthy, and more fit for a burying place (to which use part of it is already applied) than for any other service; besides, as it is part of a square allotted by the late honourable proprietary for publick uses, as the old maps of the city will show, our fellow citizens would tax us with injustice to them, if we should accept of this lot by a grant from our present proprietaries, in such terms as would seem to imply our assenting to their having a right to the remainder of the square. . . .

LETTER FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROPRIETORS

*To the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital*

RESPECTED FRIENDS: We attended your proprietary, Thomas Penn, esquire, and presented to him your remarks on the grant of land made by him and his brother Richard to your society (dated the eight of October, 1751) and requested instead thereof that spot which your memorial mentioned, and desired might be granted for the intended Hospital. He perused the remarks, and made objections to them, alleging that the ground which you desired was contiguous to that which they have offered, consequently no difference in the healthiness

thereof. And as to the remark against its reverting to the proprietaries he very readily declared nothing more was intended by the clause in the grant, than that provided the scheme for the establishment and continuance of the Hospital should not succeed, either for the want of the sum proposed to be raised as a fund, or through any other cause, that then the ground should revert, &c. but as to the erections thereon, they should be at the managers disposal. We desired his answer in writing, but he refused the giving it in that manner, and added the governour should have the necessary instructions on the affair, unto whom you might apply concerning it. On the whole, he came to this resolution, not to make any alteration in what was before granted, nor to let or sell the spot of ground you pitch upon; and therefore we are of opinion, you should either accept the proprietaries' offer, with the clause relating to the reverting to them being explained, or else to fix on some other piece of ground. And if there is no other objection than the small distance of a mile to the place which one of the contributors hath offered to give you, may not that be more fit for a Hospital or Infirmary, than to have it in the city, where infectious diseases may be much more liable to spread. We observe, with pleasure, the success that hath attended the beginning of the good work you are engaged in, and hope it will go forward, and be happily completed, and are, with hearty salutes,

Your real friends,

THOMAS HYAM

SYLVANUS BEVAN

PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL, 30th 6th Mo., 1763

*Esteemed friends, Thomas Hyam, and Sylvanus Bevan:*

We have lately received your favour of thirty-first first month last, with duplicate of your former letters to our president, and being sensible that you have solicited our address to the proprietaries with all the diligence and care we could desire or expect, we gratefully acknowledge your friendship, and think ourselves under the same obligations we should have been if your kind endeavours had obtained the desired effect.

The accounts of the affairs of the Hospital, and of its present state, will be laid before the assembly at their next meeting, and soon after published, of which we shall direct duplicates to be sent you; and as you have interested yourselves in the promotion of it, and we are convinced of your good wishes for its success, when we can give you a pleasing account of its advancement, shall take the liberty of communicating the same, being, with real respects,

Your obliged friends,

(Signed on behalf of the board of managers) JOSHUA CROSBY

. . . . On the sixteenth of August, it being made appear, to the satisfaction of the assembly, that the contributions amounted to upwards of two thousand pounds, an order was obtained for the two thousand pounds that had been conditionally granted by the act, one thousand pounds to

be paid immediately, the other in twelve months: The money, when received, was let out at interest on good security, that it might be improving till it should be wanted for the building, which the managers were obliged to postpone, till a piece of ground could be obtained, that would afford sufficient room in an airy, healthy situation; and yet so nigh the built streets of the city, as that the managers, physicians and surgeons might readily and conveniently visit the house on every occasion. But that some good might be doing in the meantime, the managers concluded to hire a house, and take in some patients for a beginning; but some doubts arising concerning the power and duty of the managers, a general meeting of the contributors was called to settle the same. . . .

The managers hired the most convenient house that could be procured, with gardens, etc., agreed with a matron to govern the family, and nurse the sick, and provided beds and other necessary furniture; and prepared the following rules respecting the admission and discharge of patients, a number of which were printed and dispersed among the contributors, viz.:

RULES AGREED TO BY THE MANAGERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL,  
FOR THE ADMISSION AND DISCHARGE OF PATIENTS

First, That no patients shall be admitted whose cases are judged incurable, lunatics excepted; nor any whose cases do not require the particular conveniences of a Hospital.

Secondly, That no person, having the small-pox, itch, or other infectious distempers, shall be admitted, until there are proper apartments prepared for the reception of such as are afflicted with those diseases; and if any such persons should be inadvertently admitted they shall forthwith be discharged.

Thirdly, That women having young children shall not be received, unless their children are taken care of elsewhere, that the Hospital may not be burthened with the maintenance of such children, nor the patients disturbed with their noise.

Fourthly, That all persons desirous of being admitted into the Hospital (not inhabitants of Philadelphia) must, before they leave their abode, have their cases drawn up in a plain manner, and sent to the managers, together with a certificate from a justice of peace, and the overseer or overseers of the poor of the township in which they reside, that they have gained a residence in such township, and are unable to pay for medicines and attendance; to which an answer shall speedily be returned, informing them whether and when they may be admitted. All persons employed in drawing up their cases, are desired to be particular in enumerating the symptoms, and to mention the patient's age, sex, and place of abode, with the distance from the city of Philadelphia.

Fifthly, That all persons who have thus obtained a letter of license to be

received into the Hospital, must be there at the time mentioned for their reception, and bring with them that letter, and must likewise deposit in the hands of the treasurer so much money, or give such security as shall be mentioned in their respective letters of license, to indemnify the Hospital either from the expense of burial, in case they die, or to defray the expense of carrying them back to their place of abode, and that they may not become a charge to the city.

Sixthly, If several persons, not excluded by the preceding exceptions, are applying when they cannot be received, without exceeding the number allowed by the managers to be entertained at one time in the Hospital, the preference will be given, when the cases are equally urgent, first to such as are recommended by one or more of the contributors, members of this corporation, residing in the township to which the poor persons belong; secondly, to those who stand first in the list of applications; but if some cases are urgent, and others can admit of delay, those with the most urgent symptoms shall be preferred.

Seventhly, Notwithstanding such letters of license, if it shall appear by a personal examination of any of the patients, that their cases are misrepresented, and that they are improper subjects of the Hospital, the managers shall have the power of refusing them admission.

Eighthly, That at least one bed shall be provided for accidents that require immediate relief.

Ninthly, That if there shall be room in the Hospital to spare, after as many poor patients are accommodated as the interest of the capital stock can support, the managers shall have the liberty of taking in other patients, at such reasonable rates as they can agree for; and the profits arising from boarding and nursing such patients, shall be appropriated to the same uses as the interest money of the publick stock. Provided that no such persons, under pretence of coming to board in the Hospital, shall be admitted, unless, on the first application made on his behalf, a certificate be produced from the overseer or overseers of the poor of the township in which he lives, of his having gained a residence in the said township; and unless sufficient security be given to the managers to indemnify the city and Hospital from all charges and expenses whatsoever, occasioned by his removing hither.

Tenthly, That those who are taken into the Hospital at a private expense, may employ any physicians or surgeons they desire.

Eleventhly, That all persons who have been admitted into the Hospital, shall be discharged as soon as they are cured, or, after a reasonable time of trial, are judged incurable.

Twelfthly, that all patients when cured, sign certificates of their particular cases, and of the benefit they have received in this Hospital, to be either published or otherwise disposed of, as the managers may think proper.

Thirteenthly, That no patient go out of the Hospital without leave from one of the physicians or surgeons, first signified to the matron: That they do not swear, curse, get drunk, behave rudely or indecently, on pain of expulsion after the first admonition.

Fourteenth, That no patient presume to play at cards, dice, or any other game within the Hospital, or to beg any where in the city of Philadelphia, on pain of being discharged for irregularity.

Fifteenth, That such patients as are able, shall assist in nursing others, washing and ironing the linen, washing and cleaning the rooms, and such other services as the matron shall require.

The foregoing rules were agreed to by a board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the twenty-third day of the first month (January), 1752.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Clerk*

We do approve of the foregoing rules:

WILLIAM ALLEN, *Chief Justice*

ISAAC NORRIS, *Speaker of the Assembly*

TENCH FRANCIS, *Attorney-General*

Through the industry of the managers, everything was ready for the admission of patients by the tenth of February, 1752, and the first were accordingly taken in on that day. From which time the physicians and surgeons, with a committee of the managers, have constantly and cheerfully given attendance at the house twice a week, to visit the sick, examine cases, admit and discharge patients, etc., besides the daily attendance of the former. . . .

The practitioners charitably supplied the medicines gratis till December, 1752, when the managers, having procured an assortment of drugs from London, opened an apothecary's shop in the Hospital; and, it being found necessary, appointed an apothecary to attend and make up the medicines daily, according to the prescriptions, with an allowance of fifteen pounds per annum for his care and trouble, he giving bond, with two sufficient sureties, for the faithful performance of his trust. To pay for these medicines, which cost one hundred twelve pounds, fifteen shillings, and two pence half-penny, sterling, a subscription was set on foot among the charitable widows, and other good women of the city, and £104 18s. were contributed. . . .

From this bounty the managers have since been enabled to furnish medicines to many poor out-patients, who, at their request have been kindly visited by the physicians gratis, besides the service of them to those in the Hospital.

About the beginning of this year, twelve tin boxes were provided, on which were written these words in gold letters, *Charity for the Hospital*. One box for each manager, to be put up in his house, ready to receive casual benefactions, in imitation of a good custom practised in some foreign countries, where these kind of boxes are frequent in shops, stores,



and other places of business, and into which the buyer and seller (when different prices are proposed) often agree to throw the difference, instead of splitting it: In which the successful in trade sometimes piously deposit a part of their extraordinary gains, and magistrates throw their petty fees; a custom worthy imitation. But these boxes among us have produced but little for the Hospital as yet, not through want of charity in our people, but from their being unacquainted with the nature and design of them. . . .

In the beginning of 1754, spinning-wheels were provided by the managers, for the employment of such of the women patients as may be able to use them.

The accounts of the Hospital were laid before the house of assembly, and a committee appointed to examine them, and to visit the Hospital, who having accordingly done so, made their report in writing, which (having recited the foregoing general state of the said accounts) concludes thus:

We also report, that by the list of patients, we find that from the eleventh of second month, 1752, to the fourth of fifth month, 1753, there were sixty-four patients received into the Hospital, afflicted with lunacy and various other disorders, which required the conveniences of such a place; of which number thirty-two were cured and discharged, and some others received considerable relief. We likewise report, that we have visited the Hospital, and find a considerable number of distempered patients there, who are well taken care of, and the whole appears to us to be under very regular and good management, and likely to answer the original design. All which we submit to the House. . . .

About this time a seal was procured by the managers; it was engraven on silver, the device, the good Samaritan taking the sick man, and delivering him to the inn keeper, with these words underneath: "Take care of him, and I will repay thee."

The twenty-seventh of fourth month, 1754, John Reynell, and John Smith, the committee appointed for that purpose, reported an account of patients remaining on the twenty-eighth of fourth month, 1753, and of such as have been admitted into the Pennsylvania Hospital from that time to the twenty-seventh of fourth month, 1754, from which it appears that there were sixty-one patients. Of which 28 were cured and discharged, 7 received considerable benefit, 2 discharged at the request of their friends, 1 discharged for disobedience to rules, 2 judged incurable, 5 died, and 16 remained. In all, 61. . . .

From the foregoing accounts it appears: That from the tenth of February, 1752, to the twenty-seventh of April, 1754, which is but about

two years and two months, sixty persons, afflicted with various distempers, have been cured, besides many others that have received considerable relief, both in and out patients; and if so much good has been done by so small a number of contributors, how much more then may reasonably be expected from the liberal aid and assistance of the well disposed who hitherto have not joined in the undertaking? Experience has more and more convinced all concerned, of the great usefulness of this charity. The careful attendance afforded to the sick poor; the neatness, cleanness, and regularity of diet with which they are kept in the Hospital, are found to contribute to their recovery much sooner than their own manner of living at home, and render the physick they take more effectual. Here they have the best advice, and the best medicines, which are helps to recovery, that many in better circumstances in different parts of the province do not enjoy. In short, there is scarce any one kind of doing good, which is not hereby in some manner promoted; for not only the sick are visited and relieved, but the stranger is taken in, the ignorant instructed, and the bad reclaimed; present wants are supplied, and the future prevented, and (by easing poor families of the burthen of supporting and curing their sick) it is also the means of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked.

It is therefore hoped, that by additional benefactions from pious and benevolent persons (an account of which will be published yearly according to law) this charity may be farther extended, so as to embrace with open arms all the sick poor that need the relief it affords, and that the managers will not in time to come, be under a necessity, from the narrowness of the funds, of refusing admittance to any proper object.

It is hoped that a deaf ear will not be turned to the cries of those, in whose favour both religion and humanity strongly plead; who are recommended by the great pattern of human conduct; who in sickness are lost to society; who contribute greatly to the instruction of those youth to whom the lives of high and low may hereafter be intrusted, whose prayers are to be sent up for their deliveries; but that all will assist to render the funds of this Hospital answerable to the necessities of the poor. Incapacity of contributing can by none be pleaded; the rich only indeed can bestow large sums, but most can spare something yearly, which collected from many, might make a handsome revenue, by which great numbers of distressed objects can be taken care of, and relieved, many of whom may possibly one day make a part of the blessed company above, when a cup of cold water given to them will not be unrewarded. Let people but reflect what unnecessary expenses they have been at in any year for vain superfluities or entertainments, for mere amusements or diversions or perhaps in vicious debauches; and then let them put the question to themselves, whether they do not

wish that money had been given in the way now proposed? If this reflection has influence on their future conduct, the poor will be provided for. The least mite may be here given without a blush; for what people would not choose to give the treasurer, or any manager, the trouble to receive, may be put into their charity boxes, or into the box which is fixed in the entry of the Hospital: where money cannot so well be spared, provision or linen, blankets, and any kind of furniture, herbs and roots for the kitchen, or the apothecary, or other necessities of a family, may be delivered to the matron or governess; old linen, and even rags, for lint, bandages, and other chyrurgical dressings, are acceptable, being scarce to be purchased sometimes for money; and though they are of little or no value to those who have them, they are absolutely necessary in such a Hospital, and will be thankfully received.

It ought in justice to be here observed, that the practitioners have not only given their advice and attendance gratis, but have made their visits with even greater assiduity and constancy than is sometimes used to their richer patients; and that the managers have attended their monthly boards, and the committees the visitations of two days in every week, with greater readiness and punctuality than has been usually known in any other publick business, where interest was not immediately concerned; owing, no doubt, to that satisfaction which naturally arises in humane minds from a consciousness of doing good, and from the frequent pleasing sight of misery relieved, distress removed, grievous diseases healed, health restored, and those who were admitted languishing, groaning, and almost despairing of recovery, discharged sound and hearty, with cheerful and thankful countenances, gratefully acknowledging the care that has been taken of them, praising God, and blessing their benefactors, who by their bountiful contributions founded so excellent an institution. . . . .

The contributions which have been generously made this year, have enabled the managers to proceed in completing some necessary conveniences, which were immediately wanted, and to receive and entertain a much larger number of patients in the house, than their stock would permit before; and if the spirit of charity towards this institution continues, with equal warmth hereafter, it will soon become more extensively useful. To give it its proper weight with the publick, let it be considered, that in a city of large trade, many poor people must be employed in carrying on a commerce, which subjects them to frequent terrible accidents. That in a country, where great numbers of indigent foreigners have been but lately imported, and where the common distresses of poverty have been much increased, by a most savage and bloody war, there must be

many poor, sick, and maimed. That poor people are maintained by their labour, and, if they cannot labour, they cannot live, without the help of the more fortunate. We all know many mouths are fed, many bodies clothed, by one poor man's industry and diligence; should any distemper seize and afflict this person; should any sudden hurt happen to him, which should render him incapable to follow the business of his calling, unfit him to work, disable him to labour but for a little time; or should his duty to his aged and diseased parents, or his fatherly tenderness for an afflicted child, engross his attention and care, how great must be the calamity of such a family! How pressing their wants! How moving their distresses! And how much does it behove the community to take them immediately under their guardianship, and have the causes of their misfortunes as speedily remedied as possible! Experience shows, this will be more effectually and frugally done in a publick Hospital, than by any other method whatever.

Can any thing in this checkered world, afford more real and lasting satisfaction to humane minds, than the reflection of having made such a social use of the favours of Providence, as renders them, in some measure, instruments which open the door of ease and comfort to such as are bowed down with poverty and sickness; and which may be a means of increasing the number of people, and preserving many useful members to the publick from ruin and distress.

That this is a satisfaction which the contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital have a just claim to, all may be assured, by visiting the house, examining the patients, and considering the extraordinary cases which are there received, and happily treated; among which, it is hoped, they will find sufficient instances to convince them, that every individual, in this and the adjacent provinces, are interested in the prosperity of this charitable institution; and induce them to consider, that "riches make themselves wings, and flee away; but blessed is he that considereth the weak, sick, and needy, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble." And that it is better to give alms, than to lay up gold. . . .

## PRIZE MEDICAL SOCIAL CASE RECORD

## CHARLES ROCQUE

[Continued]

## MEDICAL SITUATION REGARDING CHARLES

*November 9, 1927.*—Conference with Dr. Fox, who stated that Charles would not last long if he worked in a poorly ventilated place at long hours or if he should sit at a machine all day.

Dr. Fox feels that with Charles's talent along the lines of construction in art, he would be wasted if sent into a factory, and that he needs the satisfaction which would come if engaged in art work, more than if he were a healthy person. Charles is deprived of many of the satisfactions of a normal young man and therefore needs an absorbing interest and a reason for living, in order to feel that medical treatment is worth while for him.

Dr. Fox agreed that Mrs. Rocque needs a physical examination, and offered to examine her himself, free of charge.

## TENTATIVE SOCIAL PLAN

Plan with family to meet financial situation, securing an increase of the war pension, if possible.

Persuade Mrs. Rocque to have a physical examination to determine whether there are any correctible defects and, in the light of the examination, to consider the advisability of her doing work outside the home.

Continue in attempt to adjust Charles vocationally, either through the Civilian Rehabilitation Service or other means. It is important to utilize Charles's artistic ability in order to supply an incentive to follow his treatment. The kinds of employment open to him are limited because of his chest condition.

## ACTION TAKEN

*November 9, 1927.*—Called with Charles at Art Institute. In the absence of Mr. Ames, Mr. Frank Bacon looked at the drawings and ship model. He inquired regarding Charles's training and what his employment had been so far. In telling him, Charles said he did not think very much of the Technical High art training.

His advice was that Charles begin as a Freshman and take the regular course for two years, specializing in the last two years. He said that Charles's ship model might be an indication that Charles would like craftwork, in which he could specialize. Mr. Bacon said that there are more openings in the crafts than in commercial art and referred to the

Lawrence Studio and the Aldrich Pottery Studio as needing both craftsmen and artists.

After the first year's work, the faculty of the Art Institute would evaluate Charles's progress sufficiently to be able to tell whether or not he should continue. Charles could start in the February term and complete one year's work before the following September. The tuition is \$250 for the year, and materials for the first year's course cost about \$50.

When Charles was asked whether he would be willing to do hard work, he assented and said he believed in doing things thoroughly and well.

#### ACTION TAKEN

*November 11, 1927, 9:00 A.M.*—Called at the Civilian Rehabilitation Service with Charles and Mrs. Rocque to see Mr. Marsh. Before Charles and Mrs. Rocque arrived, Mr. Marsh agreed that though they do not usually accept diabetics, Charles's case is unusual and should be considered.

On request, Charles brought in the ship model. Mr. Marsh belittled it, said he was not interested in it because factories could turn out thousands more cheaply, and that the handwork involved meant nothing to him. He said that similar ones could be seen in any saloon in the Bohemian neighborhood, to which Mrs. Rocque demurred. Neither Mrs. Rocque nor Charles showed any ill feeling. Charles remained standing during the entire interview.

Mr. Marsh said that an art education would be too expensive and take too long to be practical, and asked Charles for alternatives. Charles made three suggestions: (1) sign-painting. Mr. Marsh said this could be learned in a year, but his objection was that Charles's condition would not permit swinging the heavy brush all day, and that the smell of paint and turpentine would be objectionable. (2) Drafting. Mr. Marsh's objection to this was that it would be too confining and would often require Charles to stand all day. (3) Card-writing. Mr. Marsh said that this would involve window-trimming, which would be too heavy work for Charles. After some further talking, Mr. Marsh suggested the jewelry business, saying that ten months' training at the Cleveland Jewelry Supply Company would enable Charles to earn from \$18 a week up to \$35 after some experience. He said that Charles's maintenance was not the state's problem and that that would be up to the social agencies.

On being asked how he would like jewelry work, Charles said he would have to think it over; and Mr. Marsh asked that we let him know.



## DISPENSARY INTERVIEW WITH MRS. ROCQUE

*November 11, 1927, 4:00 P.M.*—Mrs. Rocque said that Charles and she consulted a neighborhood jeweler who has known Charles all his life, who said he did not think the work would agree with Charles, as it is extremely confining and also hard on the eyes. This jeweler did not think that the trade could be learned in ten months.

Charles is discouraged and does not want the state to spend \$500 on training for work which he does not like, and has told Mrs. Rocque that he had better just go out and get a job. He thinks it time that he earned money instead of having it spent on him.

Worker explained that Mr. Marsh's statement was not necessarily final and that it would be advisable to look around and make suggestions to him for other forms of training, requiring no more than ten or twelve months' time. It was again pointed out to Mrs. Rocque that Charles needs a satisfying employment because he is deprived of many pleasures of life and that, considering Charles's working life might be over a period of forty years, the investment of one year for training would be very worth while. Mrs. Rocque was in agreement with this.

Worker promised to try to find some other way out than the jewelry trade.

## RELATIVES

Mr. Rocque has three sisters and one brother. Mrs. Bauer now lives in California; and the two others live in Evanston, one of these being married to a printer, and one single, a Christian Scientist healer and employed in clerical work. The brother lives in Evanston, has three children, and is a street car conductor. He sells real estate at night. He had an operation last year, and, having no money for it, the single sister paid the bill. From Mrs. Rocque's descriptions, none seems to be very comfortably off, except possibly the one sister in California, though Mrs. Rocque did not state what her circumstances are.

## INSURANCE

Mr. Rocque has only one insurance policy and does not belong to any lodges.

## SERVICE IN ARMY

Mr. Rocque was a private in the Spanish American War, and served two years in the regular army. During the World War, Mr. Rocque was a first lieutenant in the ordnance department.

About two years ago, Mr. Rocque learned that he could apply for a Spanish American War pension, and did so. He was granted \$12 a month.

Some time later he applied for an increase, and for about a year or a year and a half had been receiving \$20 a month. During the first week at Army Hospital, he filed papers, applying for an increase, and would like the maximum, which is \$50 a month.

#### ACTION TAKEN

*November 12, 1927.*—Called at Aldrich Pottery and talked with Mr. Sellers, general manager. After discussing Charles and showing worker the pottery, Mr. Sellers promised to confer with Mr. Aldrich and telephone on November 14 or 15 as to whether they could use Charles or take him for training.

#### DISPENSARY INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES

*November 12, 1927.*—Showed Charles two pieces of pottery brought from the Aldrich Pottery, which he thought very beautiful. When asked whether he would like to make pottery, said he had not thought of it before.

Charles had come in for an examination by Dr. Fox, who was not in, so he promised to come in on November 14, 1927.

Suggested that Charles and worker go out to the Lawrence Studio to see whether there would be any possibility for training there and also to look at their work. Charles agreed.

#### ACTION TAKEN, CALLED WITH CHARLES, LAWRENCE STUDIO

*November 12, 1927.*—The manager, Mr. Prescott, was very cordial and, after hearing the reason for coming, explained the work done in the shops, and demonstrated this by a trip through both the jewelry department and the shop where the pewter, silver, copper, and other metal work is done. The men employed in the studio were trained abroad. They earn between fifty and sixty-five cents per hour and study their craft as a life-work. They are highly skilled artisans. Mr. Prescott asked worker to return for a conference with Mr. Lawrence on November 16, 1927.

#### RECREATION

That evening Charles was planning to attend a dance festival at the Public Auditorium, at which the foreign groups were to present their national dances in costume.

#### DISPENSARY INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES

*November 14, 1927.*—Charles had just been examined by Dr. Fox, and said "I got a bawling out and I deserved it." He said that he had

decided to give up football because his team had been defeated the day before. It was the team he had coached, and he said that he himself had played only twice and only a few minutes each time. His description of the game showed intense interest in it.

Charles said he would think over the work at the Lawrence Studio and try to decide whether he would like to do it.

#### MEDICAL SITUATION REGARDING CHARLES

*November 15, 1927.*—Dr. Fox reports that Charles' physical condition will enable him to do sign-painting or drafting, or the craft work at the Lawrence Studio. The working conditions at the latter place were explained to him.

Dr. Fox is anxious to help Charles to secure some art training, and offered to talk with Dr. Winters about the possibility of securing some money for it.

#### REFERENCE CALL AT THE LAWRENCE STUDIO

*November 16, 1927.*—Talked with Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Prescott. Mr. Lawrence appeared to be quite interested in Charles and willing to give him an opportunity to learn. Mr. Lawrence said he would like to see Charles and his work and asked that Charles come in the following morning. He said he would get in touch with Mr. Bacon to get his opinion of Charles.

Mr. Prescott said that his plan, if they accepted Charles, would be to put him to work in the shop where the metal craftwork is done, under the instruction of one of the men, and that they would keep account of the time the man spent with Charles and would charge this up to a special account. In a month or two, when Charles's work could be placed in the shop and sold, the amount realized in this way would be deducted from his account. Mr. Prescott said that Charles would learn a great deal more at the Lawrence Studio than in the crafts course at the Art Institute, and that, if he did well, would be encouraged to take art courses at night. Mr. Prescott felt that the company would have to be reimbursed for Charles's training, as it would cost them a considerable amount to have their men give Charles the instruction.

Charles's physical condition and probable prognosis were carefully explained. Both men said they would want Charles to think of this as a life-work.

#### TELEPHONED THE ART INSTITUTE, MR. BACON

*November 16, 1927.*—Mr. Bacon remembered Charles and said he would be very glad to talk with Mr. Lawrence about him. When asked for

his opinion of Charles's going to Lawrence's for training, he said it would be practically like going to the Art Institute.

Mrs. Rocque was notified to have Charles take his ship model to the Lawrence Studio the following morning.

*November 18, 1927.*—Mrs. Rocque telephoned that Charles had seen Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Lawrence did not know of Charles's commercial art interest, and explained to Charles that if the work at the Lawrence studio did not appeal to him, it would not be wise to undertake it. Mr. Lawrence said he would try to find an opening in the commercial art field, and that Charles should telephone later in the day.

After several other attempts, Mr. Lawrence secured an opening for Charles with the artists, Frederick Huyler and Thomas Sheridan, Sheldon Annex. Charles went there this morning ready for work. The plan is that he will work for nothing for a month, at the end of which time his fate is to be decided. Mrs. Rocque said she thought she would write Mr. Lawrence a note of appreciation and gratitude.

REPORT OF MISS ROSS, DIRECTOR OF ASSOCIATION FOR  
CRIPPLED AND DISABLED

*November 18, 1927.*—On worker's request, Miss Ross talked with Mr. Marsh (his offices being in the same building) about Charles's disinclination to enter the jewelry trade and about possible alternatives, mentioning the Lawrence Studio plan. Mr. Marsh will consider placing Charles with Lawrence's if it can be done for \$500.

*Later.*—Letter written to Mr. Marsh as follows:

MY DEAR MR. MARSH: Through Mr. Lawrence of the Lawrence Studio, Charles has secured an opportunity with the artists, Thomas Sheridan and Frederick Huyler, in their Sheldon Building office. He will work without pay for at least a month, at the end of which time they will decide whether or not he should go on.

It may be that this will be the solution of Charles's vocational problem, and it may be that at the end of the month new developments will arise with need for training in this field.

I shall keep in touch with you about developments, and hope that in the meantime you will still keep in mind the possibility of accepting Charles for State training, in case the need arises.

Thanking you for your interest and co-operation, I am

Yours very truly, EMILIE KRAUSE, *Social Worker*

*November 19, 1927.*—Reported developments to Dr. Fox. He said it would now be easier to persuade Charles to adhere to his treatment be-

cause he is engaged in the work which interests him. Dr. Fox said he would not charge Charles for medical care or Mrs. Rocque for her physical examination. Worker and Dr. Fox agreed it would be important to keep in intimate touch with Charles in this period during which he is on trial.

## CALLED AT ARMY HOSPITAL

*November 22, 1927.*—Mrs. Rocque and a woman acquaintance were visiting Mr. Rocque. After the other visitor left, Charles and his future were discussed. Mr. Rocque had a feeling that Charles should earn and that it was too bad he was spending the entire day with these artists and not receiving any pay. After some discussion and explanation of Dr. Fox's recommendations, Mr. Rocque apparently understood the situation and agreed that Charles needed training.

Mrs. Rocque said that Charles has his own desk in the studio and his own materials. He takes his lunch along, and drives to work every day, parking his car for fifteen cents a day. Mr. Rocque does not think this extravagant, as it saves energy and time and costs little more than car fare. Charles spent last Saturday afternoon in the garage, working on some doll furniture he is making, and asked Marie for some scraps of velvet for the upholstery.

Mr. Rocque believes that the doctors are still working on his diagnosis. and wishes that they would find the trouble as he is anxious to return to work. He and Mrs. Rocque have great confidence in Dr. Fox and would be greatly relieved if he could examine Mr. Rocque.

Mrs. Rocque went to the door with worker and said that Maurice had been laid off two or three weeks ago but was expecting to go back to work soon. She has kept this from Mr. Rocque. They are buying some of their groceries on credit, but Mrs. Rocque has a little money left. The relatives have not helped nor asked about affairs. Mrs. Rocque consented to come in for examination on Friday, November 25.

Miss Martin, social worker, Army Hospital, said that she would take up the matter of finding out if Dr. Fox could be called in, as Mr. Rocque would like to have Dr. Fox examine him. Miss Martin will arrange for conference of Mrs. Rocque and worker with Major Metcalf, so that Mrs. Rocque may be informed of the seriousness of Mr. Rocque's case.

CONFERENCE, ARMY HOSPITAL—DR. METCALF,  
MISS MARTIN, AND MRS. ROCQUE

*November 23, 1927.*—Dr. Metcalf told Mrs. Rocque that Mr. Rocque would never be well enough to return to work but that it would be ad-

visible to keep this information from Mr. Rocque. He said that Mr. Rocque is eligible for full pension, which he believes will amount to \$80 a month. Dr. Metcalf has written for a blank, and will fill this out as soon as it comes, and advises that worker follow up the blank with a letter, urging prompt action on the basis of the family's situation. Mr. Rocque may be able to go home occasionally for a few days, returning to the hospital. Dr. Metcalf gave permission for Mr. Rocque to go home for Thanksgiving on November 24, 1927.

#### FINANCIAL DATA

Mrs. Rocque said that there is no mortgage on the house and that she will inherit it from her mother. Mrs. Rocque said she felt they could get along for a while.

#### INTERVIEW WITH MRS. ROCQUE

Mrs. Rocque was very brave during the conference but cried afterward. She is hopeful for Mr. Rocque's partial recovery, because Charles recovered in spite of a poor prognosis. She hopes that Mr. Rocque will be able to sell a few cars, even if the boys have to take him around. Mrs. Rocque has bought nothing for herself for a long time, as she said that it seems as though the others are always in need. Mrs. Rocque said she felt as though she should be made of iron in order to live through her troubles.

Charles likes his work very much and said it is just what he has been wanting to do for a long time. Yesterday, Mr. Huyler was painting a galleon and asked Charles for advice regarding the colors to use. Charles's hours are from 8:00 to 4:30.

Charles has for some time been friendly with a girl who attends Lincoln High School; she is a senior and is planning to become a nurse. Mrs. Rocque said she is very pretty and that she seems to like Charles very much. Apparently, she has asked Charles to learn to dance. The two families have known one another over a period of years; and, according to Mrs. Rocque, the girl's family are comfortably situated and are in the soft-drink business. The father of the girl is very anxious that she become a nurse.

#### CHARLES'S EMPLOYMENT

*December 7, 1927.*—Called at Lawrence Studio and talked with Mr. Lawrence regarding Charles's future. Mr. Lawrence spoke very highly of Charles and said that his work is promising. Charles's work consisted at first of arranging and filing the work of the artists, and they said that Charles made several valuable suggestions regarding it. They are con-



sidering taking in some lettering work especially for Charles, and, if this plan is successful, will be able to pay him a little. Charles may remain there indefinitely and will receive instruction from both Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Huyler.

Mr. Lawrence is delighted with this opportunity for Charles and said that the training he will receive there is worth hundreds of dollars; it is more individual than class work at the Art Institute would be. Mr. Lawrence said that it would not be necessary to raise money for Charles's apprenticeship but that Charles will need help toward his maintenance, as it is hard to say how long he will have to work before he can begin to earn.

#### INTERVIEW WITH MRS. ROCQUE

*December 9, 1927.*—Mrs. Rocque came to the hospital at worker's request to discuss the family budget and Charles's prospects. Worker told Mrs. Rocque of what Mr. Lawrence had said about Charles. She seemed to understand the value of Charles's opportunity and the importance of his staying with these artists for an indefinite period. She hopes that the lettering work will be secured and that Charles will be able to earn even a very small amount in that way. Charles is happier than he has been for a long time and often shows the family samples of what he has been given to do. Maurice commented that Charles must be getting excellent training, when he saw the work. Apparently the family's attitude is very favorable and the only obstacle is one of finance.

Mrs. Rocque hopes that all will be for the best and said that if Mr. Rocque's pension should be increased and if Charles could earn just a little, they could manage, as Maurice is again working. Discussed with Mrs. Rocque the advisability of presenting the budget figures to Dr. Fox and Dr. Winters as had been suggested by them, in the hope of obtaining some assistance for Charles. This would be in the nature of helping toward his maintenance to substitute for the board he would pay if earning. Pointed out that this would relieve Charles from anxiety and from possible reproach for being a burden on the family when he might be able, by doing some other kind of work, to contribute. Reminded Mrs. Rocque of importance of training for Charles from standpoint of health, physical and mental, and that this was the opportunity for which he had waited and hoped so long. Worked out the following budget with Mrs. Rocque: a weekly budget for Charles' amounting to \$11.70, and for the family without Charles, with Mr. Rocque in the hospital, amounting to \$30.11.

\* The items for Charles were: insulin \$3.00, diet \$5.00, clothing \$1.85, incidentals \$0.50, gas and oil \$1.10, insurance \$0.25. Those for the family were: house \$1.85, food \$9.05, clothing \$3.35, coal \$2.00, gas \$2.80, electricity \$0.65, car fare \$2.10.

## MAURICE

Maurice likes his present work very much and hopes to be able to go to night school at Cleveland College to take up courses in accounting. Maurice's hours are regular; and though he works two nights a week, he has Saturday afternoons off. He feels that this accounting work will lead to other business positions.

Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque is still hoping that Dr. Fox will come to the Army Hospital to examine him, as he does not have full confidence in the doctors there.

Discussed with Mrs. Rocque the advisability of having a physical examination. Mrs. Rocque said she is feeling well; but she seemed to understand that since Mr. Rocque became ill suddenly, it would be wise for her to submit to an examination. She promised to keep an appointment with Dr. Fox for December 10, 1927, at 1:30.

## ACTION TAKEN

Referred Charles to Dental Clinic, Western Reserve University Dental School, giving Mrs. Rocque the refer slip.

## MEDICAL SITUATION REGARDING MRS. ROCQUE, DECEMBER 13, 1927

Dr. Fox reports that Mrs. Rocque came for examination on December 10, 1927, and that she is in excellent physical condition excepting for her teeth. All her teeth will probably have to be extracted and artificial dentures made.

After discussing financial situation with Dr. Fox, he suggested that he submit it to Dr. Winters, assistant director, and try to interest him in securing financial aid for Charles.

*[To be concluded]*

LAKESIDE HOSPITAL  
CLEVELAND, OHIO

AGNES SCHROEDER

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Maurice's allowance \$5.00, insurance—Mr. Rocque and Marie—\$1.21, Marie's lunches and school supplies \$1.10, clothes and gifts for Mr. Rocque \$1.00.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

THE Philanthropic Fortnight, which began with a meeting held in the great assembly room of the Sorbonne on Sunday, July 1, at which was voiced the welcome of France as a nation and Paris as a city, ended Friday, the thirteenth, with closing words of good will in the Salle Pleyel—a great new concert hall, since that time burned to the ground. During this fortnight, four separate international conferences were held: (1) The International Housing and Town Planning Congress, organized by the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. Of this congress M. Henri Sellier, former chairman of the General Council of the Seine Department, chairman of the Board of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, was the chairman. The subjects to which attention was chiefly given were the housing of unskilled wage-earners, rural housing, certain technical questions of construction, the financing of housing schemes, and the legal difficulties confronted by town-planners. The conspicuous figures in the conference were, beside M. Sellier, Mr. Raymond Unwin who was, at a meeting of the Federation held during the week, elected president for the coming year, and Mr. Henry Chapman, the organizing secretary. Mr. Alfred Bettman, of Cincinnati, and Mr. George B. Ford, of New York City, were among the Americans who contributed to the discussion or presided at some of the sessions. (2) The International Congress on Statutory and Voluntary Assistance, of which the Countess Juliette Henry Carton de Wiart, of Belgium, was president and M. Georges Rondel was secretary and treasurer. (3) The International Child Welfare Congress, of which M. Paul Strauss, senator, member of the French Academy of Medicine, formerly Minister of Health, Labor, and Public Welfare, was chairman. (4) The International Conference of Social Work with Alice Masaryk as chairman.

The problems dealt with by the Congress on Statutory and Voluntary Assistance were discussed in three sections: (1) one devoted to general aspects of the question, (2) one to children and young people not included in the Child Welfare program, and (3) one devoted to problems of the mentally feeble or the mentally sick. This Congress was concerned with the substitution of preventive measures for the older reliance on relief, and was interested especially in problems of the aged, of foreign-

ers in distress, and in the principles that should govern the care of the "middle class" "or of persons not entirely deprived of means." With reference to the treatment of this group the Congress adopted the following resolutions:

1. On the part of the State, those legislative measures which apply to poverty should be extended to include the "new poor" as well as those who find themselves in temporary undeserved embarrassment which might end in permanent distress.
2. Voluntary organizations for prevention and relief should undertake activities in all fields where official relief is insufficient, exclusive or wholly lacking.
3. Legal relief measures ought not to exclude preventive measures.
4. Regularly constituted social work is necessary for a practical application of poor law and regulations.
5. An effective co-operation between the State and private agencies should be established and maintained with the help of trained social workers.

The permanent organization of the Congress was provided for by the election of a committee to issue the proceedings, conduct the affairs of the Conference and arrange for the next meeting.

The Congress closed July 7, with the election of a permanent committee on which Mr. Robert W. de Forest represents the United States, with the executive officers of this Congress continued in their positions. The chairman, who was a most efficient as well as a most gracious and graceful presiding officer, at that time expressed thanks to France for welcoming the Congress, congratulated and thanked those who presented reports to Plenary Sessions, the presidents of the sections, representatives from the governments and from public and private agencies, as well as the participants in the Congress. She said that this Seventh Congress had been especially brilliant; the first four Congresses had dealt only with the question of relief; the Fifth had enlarged its scope in dealing with relief to foreigners. The Sixth Congress had succeeded in uniting the two ideas of prevention and relief in every sphere; and particularly as regards health and penal law, prevention was progressing at a great pace.

Assistance to aged persons, which the Congress had discussed, she said was a Christian idea. In the same way that children must be helped as the promise of the future, old folk must be assisted as the representatives of the past. The question of the middle classes showed that in spite of the continual growth of prevention, assistance would always be needed. She ended on this note of hope and encouragement for future congresses: "Progress almost always consists in materializing ideals."

The work of the Child Welfare Congress was assigned to three sec-

tions which discussed the following topics: (1) maternity and infancy, (2) open-air institutions for children, (3) the care of dependent children and the working of juvenile courts. This Congress concluded their work by the adoption of a great many resolutions. Of these over a hundred were recommended by the various sections; others emphasized the importance of family assistance in the open air as compared with hospital assistance in institutions and urged where possible the use of foster-home care in the country. As a result of the Conference a permanent organization of juvenile court judges was formed with M. Henri Rollet, of France, as president; M. Paul Wets, of Belgium, and M. Pierre de Nemeth, of Hungary, as vice-presidents; and M. Clostermans, of Germany, as secretary.

The Conference on Social Work agreed at the beginning to adopt no resolutions. Its work was considered by five sections on (1) the General Organization of Social Work, (2) Training for Social Work, (3) Methods of Social Case Work, (4) Social Work and Industry, (5) Social Work and Public Health. It is impossible at this moment to evaluate the work of the Conference. The question of education attracted very great interest so that the section meetings were large and the discussion animated. The question of the migrant drew numbers whenever it was approached, and it was discussed by the sections on Case Work, on Industry, and on Education.

Provision for a permanent organization was made by the adoption of the following resolutions presented at a business meeting on Wednesday, July 11:

*The Executive Board of the International Conference of Social Work,*

*Considering the great success of the Conference and the advantages to be derived from a renewal of the facilities therein offered for information, discussion and the establishment of personal relations;*

*Considering also the need for associating in friendly relations all international meetings devoted to the campaign against social ills;*

*Considering further the impossibility of giving a final form to a permanent organization charged with carrying on the work of the Conference,*

*Places before this meeting the following resolutions:*

1. That the Executive Board of the Conference be given full powers to organize another International Conference of Social Work;
2. That it should make every effort to coordinate this second Conference with other Congresses having similar aims;
3. That the Board be authorized to co-opt new members;
4. That the National Committees already formed for the preparation of this Conference be invited to place their organization on a permanent basis.

Beside the four conferences there was held in the great Exposition Hall near the Porte de Versailles an exhibition de l'Habitation et du Progrès Social to which the president of the Republic made a visit on July 7.

Provision was made for visiting institutions and agencies of which Mlle Delagrangé of the Ministry of Labor and Public Welfare had prepared an extremely valuable list, and the city manifested its interest on two occasions when the resources of the Opera, the Opera Comique and the Conservatory were drawn on to supply entertainment and to exhibit the variety of resources on which Paris may draw as a public organization and as a part of its civic structure.

The registration was estimated at over 4,000 and the delegates from the United States, probably in common with other delegates, left the Conference filled with the determination to learn the languages with which they are not yet familiar. The Child Welfare Conference voted to have its next meeting in Holland, if possible in 1932. Perhaps it is too much to contemplate requiring Dutch as a prerequisite for admission to schools of social work, but every social worker should feel dissatisfied until he or she has the ability to read the papers at least in German and French as well as in English.

THE August Conference of the Social Science Research Council held at Dartmouth College during the summer vacation has come to be an annual and unique series of meetings held under very favorable conditions. There were present this year the members of the Council and the chairmen of all the Council's advisory committees, and the committee members of the Problems and Policies Committee and also the committees on Social Science Abstracts; Corporate Relations; Population; and Inter-racial Relations. The agenda of the conference called for daily sessions from August 18 to August 31 with meetings of the Problems and Policies Committee from nine to eleven in the morning and two to four in the afternoon with a general assembly at eleven in the morning and at eight in the evening. On the program of the general sessions were "Opportunities and Problems of the Social Science Research Council," by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, Chairman of the Council; "The Genuineness of the Interrelations among the Social Sciences," by Professor W. F. Ogburn; "The Evolution of an Anthropologist," by Dr. Clark Wissler; "Trends of Social Research," by Professor Edmund E. Day; "Problems of the National Research Council," by Dr. Vernon Kellogg; and discussions of research opportunities in the following fields: Agriculture, by



Professor Henry C. Taylor; Industrial Relations, by Mr. Henry S. Dennison; Corporate Relations, by Mr. George O. May; Cultural Areas, by Professor Fay-Cooper Cole; Interracial Relations, by Mr. W. W. Alexander; Population, by Professor Walter F. Willcox.

**A**N INTERESTING example of co-operation between public and private charity is the plan recently announced from Raleigh, North Carolina, for a comprehensive study of child welfare among Negroes which is to be undertaken by the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare with the aid of a gift from Julius Rosenwald, the Chicago philanthropist, whose generous gifts for Negro education have been making the New South a reality. Mr. Rosenwald offered to give \$5,000 to be used for the study provided the state board would obtain \$5,000 more. The advisory committee to the division of Negro work of the board made a very successful appeal to the Negro school children and their teachers for contributions to the fund; and the first response to the appeal came from the pupils at the Berry-O'Kelly Training School at Method, which is the four-thousandth Rosenwald school for Negroes in the South.

**A**FURTHER announcement of wide interest is the establishment of the Julius Rosenwald Fund in Chicago, with capital assets in excess of \$20,000,000. In writing to the trustees of the Fund, Mr. Rosenwald sets out some interesting theories of the use of charitable endowments. His letter says:

My experience is that trustees controlling large funds are not only desirous of conserving principal, but often favor adding to it from surplus income. I am not in sympathy with this policy of perpetuating endowments, and believe that more good can be accomplished by expending funds as trustees find opportunities for constructive work than by storing up large sums of money for long periods of time. By adopting a policy of using the fund within this generation we may avoid those tendencies toward bureaucracy and a formal or perfunctory attitude toward the work which almost inevitably develop in organizations which prolong their existence indefinitely. Coming generations can be relied upon to provide for their own needs as they arise.

In accepting the shares of stock now offered, I ask that the trustees do so with the understanding that the entire fund in the hands of the board, both income and principal, be expended within twenty-five years of the time of my death.

The present trustees of the Fund, in addition to Mr. Rosenwald, who serves as chairman of the board, are Edwin R. Embree, president;

Alfred K. Stern, director; Lessing J. Rosenwald, treasurer; Harold H. Swift, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago; Frank L. Sulzberger, a director of the Jewish Charities of Chicago; Harry W. Chase, president of the University of North Carolina; Mrs. David M. Levy, of New York City, a daughter of Mr. Rosenwald; and Edgar B. Stern, chairman of the New Orleans Community Chest.

Another unusual feature in connection with the establishment of this fund is the provision that the trustees other than the founder and the president may not serve for more than six years consecutively nor beyond the age of sixty-five.

THE International Association of Societies for the Protection of Migrants will hold its annual meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, September 3-4. Among the subjects scheduled for discussion are the following: (1) Returning emigrants disembarking without resources, which involves the obligation of shipping companies to insure the transport of returning emigrants as far as their place of origin; (2) measures intended to assure the repatriation of the excluded emigrant; (3) preliminary reports on the methods of collaboration of societies for the protection of emigrants in the different countries represented in the conference. The Conference owes much of its success to the work of Professor Louis Varlez, chief of the Division of Immigration of the International Labor Office, and his associate Mr. D. Christie Tait, who will be remembered by those who attended the meetings of the Immigration Division of the National Conference of Social Work in Memphis last May.

THE International Union against Tuberculosis will hold its sixth Conference on September 25, 26, and 27 in Rome under the auspices of the Italian government. The diagnosis of tuberculosis in children, the organization of antituberculosis work in rural districts, and the recent Italian law making insurance against tuberculosis compulsory are among the subjects on the program for discussion.

THE Indian Affairs report, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, is a publication of great importance in the field of public welfare administration. The need for social work among Indians and the low standards of such work as is being done are matters about which we have shown little or no concern. There are perhaps two explanations of our neglect of this field: first, because of the segregation of the Indian population in the western states, and also because the interests of the leaders in our professional social work group are too narrowly confined to the

urban areas of the East, where their own immediate responsibilities are centered. But we may well remind ourselves at this time that work with and for the Indians was one of the first philanthropic activities of our colonial ancestors. Alike in Pennsylvania, New England, and New York, the societies and committees for promoting the welfare of the dispossessed tribes were well supported both with money and public sympathy. A recent rereading of Knapp's *Life of Thomas Eddy*, which was first published in 1834, strongly confirms this statement. Now, with the results of the recent investigation before us, there is an opportunity for the American Association of Social Workers to press for the highest professional standards in the planning of the work undertaken, in the supervision from Washington, and particularly in the examinations set by the federal Civil Service Commission for all employees in the Indian service who belong in the public welfare field, and this will include a very large proportion of all persons employed in this service.

THE bill providing for the co-ordination of the public health activities of the government which had passed both houses of Congress and was vetoed by the President last May had aroused widespread interest, and its failure is a matter of general regret. Nevertheless the President's veto message is a convincing one, and the soundness of his views about the militarization of the health service cannot be questioned. There is no reason why the personnel of the public health service any more than the staff of other scientific bureaus should be given military titles.

Nor is there any reason why the peculiar perquisites enjoyed by the army and navy officers should be extended to the public health staff. The President's message said, with proper emphasis:

For some time past there has been a definite movement among various groups of government professional and scientific employees toward militarization of their respective services, and I am impelled to oppose this movement from the standpoints of both economical administration and public policy. From an economic standpoint the method of appointment of the civilian personnel should be such that the force of government employees can be increased or decreased as the needs of the service or condition of the treasury makes necessary. But more important still, I do not believe that permanency of appointment of those engaged in the professional and scientific activities of the government is necessary for progress or accomplishment in those activities or in keeping with public policy. . . . The Secretary of the Treasury, who has administrative supervision of the Public Health Service, in 1927 stated to your body his belief that legislation for the unification of the method of appointment of professional personnel, in so far as it would give a military character to the

Public Health Service, was unnecessary in the civilian service of the government, and that there should be eliminated from the legislation any provision which gives a military status to officers or employees of the service engaged in scientific pursuits (*Cong. Rec.*, May 19, 1928).

A RECENT number of *L'Enfant*, the monthly journal of the Mutualité Maternelle of Paris, contains an account of the Milan meeting of the International Association for the Protection of Childhood. At this meeting several nations were represented, and the Italian officials, especially the executives of Italian social institutions and agencies, were present in large numbers. Health and legislation were the two main subjects under discussion. Statistics of infant mortality, certain forms of treatment of tuberculosis in children, and the provision of pure milk in cities were the most important divisions of the health program; and under the legal section, the subjects discussed included morally dangerous trades for young workers, the duties of fathers of illegitimate children, the education of retarded children, and the care of dependent orphan children. Through such conferences as these a European standard of child care is gradually being formulated. The same issue of *L'Enfant* also contains an interesting article on the rights of the child born out of wedlock, by Professor René Savatier, professor of law at the University of Poitiers, a statement of the need in France for better provision for the education of subnormal children, and a charming story charmingly illustrated, written by the seven-year-old daughter of the founder of the Mutualité, Rose-Marie Buxtorf.

SETTLEMENT milestones have been chronicled with relative frequency in these later years, but there have been few of greater interest than the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Henry Street Settlement on the East Side of New York. As Hull-House means Miss Addams, as Chicago Commons means Graham Taylor, as the Hudson Guild means John Lovejoy Elliot, and as South End House through its first generation meant Robert Woods, so Henry Street has meant and means Lillian Wald, who with her friend Mary Brewster founded it in July, 1893, and, happily, has continued to direct its work continuously since that time.

Henry Street has been unique because it was the pioneer nurse's settlement, and Miss Wald has throughout the long term of years now rounded out to the span of a generation been the active head of the settlement and also the director of the Visiting Nurse Service of New York City, which in a single year makes more than 350,000 visits. In a brief

statement published in the *New York Times* Miss Wald described the settlement as resting on the belief that

democracy is best served when the machinery of life is used as a vehicle to free people from benumbing, long houred occupations, from the indifference and dislike due to wide separation between nationalities, or from rigid classifications due to economic conditions. Health, recreation, music, dances, the drama, the industries, companionship, deep friendship, employment, vocational guidance, advice in trouble and education have seemed to us to be inseparable and important for a rounded contribution to our neighborhoods and to the individuals who come to us.

**S**Ocial workers more than any other organized professional group have a stake in the fate of the maternity and infancy work better known under the name of the Sheppard-Towner Act. It is good news therefore that a new bill (H.R. 14070) entitled "An Act to Provide a Child Welfare Extension Service" was introduced by Representative Newton of Minnesota during the closing days of Congress. The Newton bill abandons entirely the fifty-fifty feature of the Sheppard-Towner Act, to which there were objections on the ground that the federal government was enabled through this device to control the state funds which were set up to match the federal funds. Similar in form to many laws under which the Department of Agriculture is co-operating in research and demonstration in the states, the Newton "Child Welfare Extension Bill" proposes an annual appropriation of \$1,000,000 for "a child welfare extension service in the Children's Bureau" to "promote the welfare and hygiene of mothers and children and aid in the reduction of infant mortality." Except for \$50,000 which may be used for administrative purposes in Washington, this sum is to be expended in co-operation with state agencies engaged in the promotion of the health or welfare of children, or under state supervision, with county or municipal agencies engaged in child hygiene or child welfare work. The bill is reported to have been introduced at the request of various women's groups and other organizations interested in the promotion of child health and familiar with the work now being done in the states. Although the development of the state work since 1921 means that federal leadership is not so necessary as formerly, some federal aid is needed if the gains of the last few years are to be conserved and extended.

**I**N CONNECTION with the effort to conserve the maternity and infancy work, attention may be called to a resolution setting out the fact that the "maternal mortality in the United States is admittedly higher than that of other civilized countries except Chile," which was

presented at the last meeting of the American Medical Association from the section on obstetrics and gynecology. According to the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (June 23, 1928), this resolution also contained a most emphatic disapproval "of any reduction of the hours allotted to the teaching of obstetrics, and advocated that obstetrics as a major subject be allotted a number of hours equal to those allotted to surgery." This is encouraging because some groups within the Association have not been in sympathy with the federal program for the reduction of maternal and infancy mortality and have even denied that the high maternal mortality rates which have been cited in its support were correct.

**C**ONCERN over the unnecessary deaths of mothers is not confined to the American Congress. The British minister of health, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in the parliamentary statement made recently in support of the estimates for his department, expressed the public concern over Great Britain's high maternal mortality rate. Noting the decline in the general death-rate and in the infant mortality rate since the establishment of the Ministry of Health nine years ago, he said:

But there is one figure which shows no improvement, although it concerns a very vital subject, and that is the figure of maternal mortality. It seems to me a terrible thing to think that today, out of every 250 mothers, one dies in childbirth, and that that state of things has persisted for the last twenty years. And that is not really the full measure of the injury that is being done. One must not only remember what happens to the family when the mother is taken away, and there are young children left who never can have the care and the influence which a mother alone can exercise over them; one must think also of those other mothers who do not die but who emerge from their confinement permanently injured in their health, their nervous system perhaps shattered, unable really to fulfil the full duties of motherhood.

I feel that the time has come when a great new effort ought to be made to bring down these figures of maternal mortality and to preserve the health of these mothers. There are many things we do not know yet about the causes of maternal mortality, but we do know something. We know that these figures, which persist steadily throughout the country, nevertheless are not universal. There are places where we can find much lower figures. I think they will be found to be those places where there is the most careful ante-natal and post-natal supervision, and where the people themselves have had the greatest opportunity of learning what is necessary for them to preserve their health and the lives of their infants. . . . I am now endeavouring to institute a new inquiry into the causes of maternal mortality. I am trying to enlist in that service the general practitioners throughout the country, as well as the local authori-



ties; and the British Medical Association have assured me that they are deeply interested in the question and that they will use all their influence with their members to get them to give every assistance possible to my inquiry.

It is of interest that this British inquiry into maternal mortality follows along lines of the investigation now being carried on in this country by the maternity and infancy division of the United States Children's Bureau. The plan of the American study was made by the advisory obstetrical committee of the Bureau, of which Dr. de Normandie, of the Harvard Medical School, is the chairman. This study is now being carried on in thirteen different states in which the state department of health and the state medical association have requested it.

**S**Ocial workers in America will be interested in the Parliamentary Debate on the subject of what, in English terminology, is called the disqualification of "pauper voters." This debate preceded the hard-fought English elections last spring for members of the local boards of Poor Law guardians in which the question of over-lavish relief policies and, in particular, relief methods of labor guardians was an important issue. The printed reports of the parliamentary proceedings,<sup>1</sup> which are now available, show that the debate occurred on a motion by a private member of the House of Commons asking the government "to give consideration to the question of taking steps to restore some measure of disqualification of recipients of poor relief from voting at elections of Boards of Guardians." As a matter of fact the English "pauper voter" is a legacy of the war in more senses than one. The Home Secretary, speaking in the House, referred to the vote of those in receipt of Poor Law assistance as "quite a modern innovation." Under the Common Law, no one who received relief of any kind was entitled to vote, and we have, of course, in a few of our older American states some survivals of this ancient practice. But things changed in England in the last year of the war when the Representation of the People Act (1918) which gave "votes for women" also gave votes to those who were on the poor-relief lists. There were some protests at the time from members who thought it all right to give a recipient of public relief the parliamentary vote but all wrong to allow him to vote for the local officials who determined what relief should be given him.

The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws dealt with the question in their report of 1909 in the following paragraph:

<sup>1</sup> Official Reports, *Parliamentary Debates*, CCXV, 1191-1246.

How far relief from the public assistance authority should disfranchise its recipients is more closely connected with the relief of the able bodied than with any other class. . . . We hold generally to the principle that those who, either from misfortune or otherwise, have failed to manage their own affairs successfully, ought not by law to have power to interfere in the management of the affairs of others. But public assistance often assumes a transient form, and we are not disposed to disfranchise wholesale and unconditionally all who receive it. We therefore recommend that only those persons be disfranchised on account of public assistance who have received assistance other than medical relief, for three months or more in the aggregate in the qualifying year [I, 64].

But the war changed many things; and not only Labor but Conservative members were quick to see that to disfranchise able-bodied recipients of poor relief would be to disfranchise the ex-service men—"those men who fought for their country and had the luck to come back." As one of the labor members put it, "These men would be allowed to go on wearing their Mons Stars and their War medals, but they would be turned out of the polling booths." The Home Secretary was quick to make it clear that the government had no intention of supporting a disfranchisement measure; but he presented some statistical data which comforted the supporters of the motion by showing the apparent seriousness of the situation. Poor relief, he said, had increased enormously since the removal of the old disqualification. In 1913 there were 630,000 people in receipt of Poor Law relief; by 1920 the figure had gone up to 567,000; and by 1927, it was 1,250,000. The Home Secretary, however, refused to explain what lay back of these figures. But the coal strike, the long-continued unemployment, and other factors apparently more important than the enfranchisement of the unfortunate recipients of poor relief were brought to the attention of the house by other members. Some interesting statistics offered by a Labor member showed a small percentage of the electorate, and apparently not an increasing percentage, voting at guardians' elections. For example, in 1913 when the disqualification of pauper voters existed, 40 per cent of the electorate voted in one of the districts criticized recently for lavish out relief; whereas in 1925, only 30 per cent voted in this district. Even in Poplar, a labor stronghold, 43 per cent voted in 1913 and only 36 per cent in 1925. "It does not seem," was the comment, "as though the newly enfranchised people, who were getting this lavish relief, were rushing to record their votes. The great speech in the debate was made by Dr. Hugh Dalton, of the London School of Economics, member for Camberwell (Peckham Division) and well known to our readers as the author of an excellent book on *Some Aspects*

of the *Inequality of Incomes in Modern Communities*. The real remedy for the whole situation, as Dr. Dalton pointed out, is the reform of the Poor Law and the abolition of the old board-of-guardians system which has long outlived its usefulness.

CHANTING "Swing low, sweet chariot" and other Negro spirituals, more than seven hundred prisoners, most of them Negroes, marched out of the darkness of some privately owned Alabama coal mines at dawn on the first of last July, the day when the statute abolishing the convict-leasing system finally came into effect. The *New York World* is justly given credit for an important share in the abolition of this system of prison labor, but the newspaper exposure of the cruelties of the system came after long years of labor on the part of the social reformers in Alabama and of the leaders in the prison reform movement in many parts of the United States. This system developed in most of the southern states after the Civil War when the necessity of dealing with the Negro offender as a prisoner created a demand for increased prison accommodations. Many of the old prisons had been burned during the war or adapted to other uses. In the exigencies of the post-bellum period the treatment of the prisoner was one of the last subjects of public concern. That whatever happened "served them right" was a not uncommon view of the problem. As the movement to abolish contract labor in the prisons of the North gradually became successful, there were many to point out the greater evils of the leasing system in the South. One southern state after another finally substituted newer and better methods of employment. Alabama and Florida, however, clung to the old system. The road to abolition was full of difficulties. The system of leasing prisoners to private employers not only saved the expense of building prisons but it also produced revenue for a state that was poor; it was enormously profitable to those who held the leases; and, after all, it was only a few degrees worse than systems in use in supposedly enlightened states. Moreover, in a state with a legislature meeting only once in four years, the movement lost momentum between sessions. Those who attended the New Orleans meeting of the American Prison Association in 1918 will remember a young legislator's impassioned denunciation of his own state as he displayed one of the heavy leather straps used for flogging the leased prisoners of Alabama.

Convict leasing in Florida ended suddenly in 1923 when a North Dakota boy who had "flipped" a ride on a Florida train was flogged to death in a Florida lumber camp. The boy had been fined \$25 for "bum-

ming" his ride and, having no money to pay, was given a jail sentence of ninety days; and then, according to the account in the *New York World*, "he was sold into bondage" under the Florida leasing system and died under the "discipline" of the overseers of the lumber company which was then leasing the Florida prisoners. The *World's* exposure of the system was pitiless, and within three weeks the Florida legislature abolished convict leasing. Three years later, the *World* again exposed the iniquities of the leasing system. This time, the death of a white convict leased to an Alabama coal company stirred public indignation. A man sentenced to prison for forging a \$30 check had died three days after being sentenced. He had been flogged and then subjected to nameless cruelties. The *World* was once more quick to lead the attack, but nothing could be done without calling a special session of the legislature, which the governor was unwilling to do. For more than two years the state has waited for action. The present governor of Alabama made the abolition of the convict leasing system one of his campaign issues in 1927, and the march of the seven hundred at sunrise on July 1 finally brought the infamous system to an end.

**I**N SUBSTITUTING outdoor work in road camps and on farms belonging to the state for the old leasing system, Alabama has gone forward by leaps and bounds and has taken an advanced position from which she may well look down upon the states where the contract system still exists, or the other states where prisoners live in idleness at the expense of the taxpayer because the contract system has been abolished and the authorities have not been resourceful enough to find an adequate substitute, or upon states where men are living in crowded cells and working in antiquated indoor workshops and factories at work which gives them neither physical upbuilding nor vocational preparation for life after release from prison.

The Alabama incident may well serve to remind the social workers of America how far the prison labor problem is from being solved. We review elsewhere in this issue a recently issued government report dealing with the *Welfare of Prisoners' Families in Kentucky*, which shows how antisocial the process is which sends the breadwinner to prison and leaves the family to disintegrate. The nominal sentence passed on the man is a small part of the real penalty which is paid by the family. The children are not infrequently sentenced to lose their home and their education and to become breadwinners themselves under illegal conditions. The mother is sentenced to employment if she is lucky enough to find any, which

means the neglect of home and children, probable ill health, the gradual disintegration of family life and family ties, the loss of the farm in rural districts, temporary shelter with relatives, aid from public or private charities, and possibly the placing of the children in institutions. Our penal institutions rarely if ever have any social workers employed to look after the family of the men under detention, and the report referred to is important because so few data are available as to the results to the wife and the children of the breadwinner's imprisonment.

**I**N THE March number of this *Review*, we commemorated the centenary of Josephine Butler. Reports have since reached us of some of the memorial meetings held in England. In Liverpool, where Josephine Butler lived and worked and where the great crusade against the so-called "C.D. Acts" began, Dr. H. J. W. Hetherington, vice-chancellor of the University of Liverpool, presided over a large public meeting at which the principal speakers were Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., and Dame Rachel Crowdy, secretary of the League of Nations Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children. In Liverpool Cathedral, delegates from a large number of foreign countries joined with representatives of the social agencies of Great Britain in "a procession of witnesses" around the interior of the Cathedral. It was interesting that the delegates meeting in honor of Josephine Butler were received by a woman Lord Mayor (Miss Margaret Beavan) who entertained them in the Town Hall, where Madame Avril de Sainte Croix, of Paris, a personal friend of Josephine Butler and a leader in the International Abolitionist Federation, was the chief speaker. She said Josephine Butler "would have rejoiced to see a woman Lord Mayor." In London, a special service was held in Westminster Abbey, and the Bishop of Lichfield, who preached, described her as "a great woman with great gifts. She had charm, beauty, eloquence, wonderful intellectual power, and she had also consummate wisdom, sound sense, a healthy sense of humour, courage, and dogged perseverance." At the time when she started the movement in Liverpool to abolish the Contagious Diseases Acts, the Bishop said "hardly anyone rose against that iniquity. Those who represented science were for the most part in favour of it, and he grieved to say that many who represented religion had no opposition to offer. It must be said to the credit of the working classes of the city that from first to last they helped Mrs. Butler's great campaign, but words failed to describe the obloquy, insult, and sometimes physical violence with which she had to contend. For sixteen years she waged the war, in other countries as well as in England. No

one but a woman who was truly great could have accomplished what she did."

Lady Astor, M.P., in a talk which was broadcast from London, said she considered that "Josephine Butler, who had changed the thought of the world on moral questions, was the greatest woman and most inspiring personality the nineteenth-century produced."

At the meeting of the Council of the Women's National Liberal Federation the following resolution, which was presented by Mrs. Corbett Ashby and supported by Mrs. Gardner, J.P., was carried with acclamation: "That this Council records its admiration and appreciation of the wonderful pioneer work of Mrs. Josephine Butler and those associated with her, and its undying gratitude for their great courage in the stand they made for justice and for a high and equal moral standard between men and women. It hereby pledges itself to continue their work."

In Manchester there was a meeting presided over by the Bishop of Manchester in the great Free Trade Hall, which seats 4,000 people. There was also a service in the Cathedral where the Dean of Manchester took the service and the Bishop of Blackburn preached on the text, "I have opened unto thee a door, and no man shall shut it against thee."

THE announcement by Sir William Beveridge, the director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, that the School is to undertake a new "Social Survey" of London will be of wide interest. Thirty years have passed since Charles Booth read his paper on "The Inhabitants of Tower Hamlets" before a meeting of the Royal Statistical Society. This paper, which was later published in the *Journal* of the Society (L, 326-91), was the first instalment of Mr. Booth's great survey of the *Life and Labour of the People in London*, the final volume of which was published in 1902. Now, in order to learn "how life in London has changed during the generation covering the great war" and to preserve for future generations a picture of London of the present day in comparison with the London of Charles Booth, the School of Economics has planned a re-survey which will show how conditions are changing or likely to change and how poverty in the various classes is being concentrated or dispersed. Of special interest is the appointment of Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith as director of the Survey, for Sir Hubert was one of Mr. Booth's original investigators. Since that time he has had an enviable record of public service, first under Sir Robert Giffen in the old Labour Department of the Board of Trade, then comptroller-general of Commercial, Labor, and Statistical Departments, later as permanent secre-



tary to the Board of Trade, and more recently as chief economic adviser to the government. Through Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith the survey will of course have the fullest co-operation of the various government departments and public authorities.

According to the *London Observer*, Sir William Beveridge has appointed a consultative committee consisting of "Mr. George Booth (a son of the late Charles Booth and a director of the Bank of England), Professor A. L. Bowley (Professor of statistics in the University of London), Sir George Duckworth (another of Mr. Charles Booth's assistants in the original inquiry), Mr. G. H. Gater (education officer, L.C.C.), Mr. John Hilton (chief statistician of the Ministry of Labour), Mr. C. M. Lloyd (head of the Department of Social Science, London School of Economics), Mr. Sidney Webb, M.P. (a governor of the London School of Economics and president of the Board of Trade in the Labour government), and Professor Allyn Young (late of Harvard University and now professor of political economy in the University of London). The secretary to the survey is Mr. S. F. Markham. Mr. Markham informed a representative of the *Observer* that the survey is expected to occupy at least five years."

Only experts will be employed [he said], and probably not more than a dozen people in all will be engaged on the work. Several members of the Consultative Committee will be taking a full-time part in it. We already have a good many statistics ready to hand and we shall take advantage of the latest mechanical appliances for tabulating the results of the inquiry. Our ambition, however, is not to represent figures given already, but to give new details as to the amount of poverty in London, its exact situation, and, if possible, to say why it originated and why it exists in particular areas. In other words we wish to provide new basic material for social and legislative action.

In gathering information we have less difficulty with the poor than with the dwellers in bow-windowed houses in the suburbs. It is fairly easy to find out the wage of the cabinet maker, but it is not so easy to find out the salary of the clerk in the city office and the civil servant. In addition to the poverty inquiry there will be an industrial inquiry. Booth made a detailed inquiry into the relation of various occupations to poverty—as to why it is that you never hear of a cobbler who becomes a millionaire, while most drapers retire with fortunes.

He also tried to ascertain why certain occupations bring poverty and ill-health in their train. That is what we propose to do again. We shall, of course, find that conditions have been modified in many ways since Booth made his survey, for much has been done since by the Ministry of Health and other public bodies. Kingsway and Aldwych, for instance, are two great streets on the site of what was in 1899 largely an insanitary area.

It is interesting that America is to have a part in the Survey, for the School of Economics has allocated toward the cost the sum of \$50,000 from the income of the recent endowment given to the School by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The total cost of the Survey is estimated at \$75,000, and special contributions have been made by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, another link with America, and the City of London Parochial Charities.

THE University of Chicago announces the establishment of the Leila Houghteling Fellowships and Scholarships in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration. An endowment of \$50,000 has been given to the University for this purpose, and the income will be available immediately. The fellowships and scholarships will be granted only to those candidates who have completed the whole or a substantial part of a course (including field work) in a school of social work or who have already been engaged in social work and give promise of a future contribution in the field. Preference in awarding the scholarships will always be given to graduate students, but in exceptional cases a candidate who has already been engaged in social work and who wishes to complete her undergraduate work may be considered. In all cases, the holders of these fellowships and scholarships will be expected to give part of their time, in most cases twenty hours a week, to further field work with one of the social agencies of Chicago or to a research undertaking in co-operation with one of the agencies. It is desired through these fellowship and scholarship grants to commemorate the work of Leila Houghteling, the author of *The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago*. Dr. Houghteling was once a Fellow and later a member of the Faculty of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration and a Dean in the Colleges of Arts and Literature. But her interest in social work began long before her connection with the University and was continued along with her work there. She believed strongly in the close connection between the School and the social agencies of the city, and it is hoped through the fellowships and scholarships bearing her name to strengthen and to develop these relationships.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Problem of Indian Administration.* Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928 (Institute for Government Research Studies in Administration). By LEWIS MERIAM and Associates. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. xii+872. \$5.00.

With Congressional committees listening to complaints that the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior was unintelligent, incompetent, and even venal in its conduct of the responsibilities with which it is charged, Secretary Work, in June, 1926, turned to the Institute of Government Research in Washington and requested an investigation and recommendations as to the work of the Bureau. With a special grant from Mr. Rockefeller, the Institute undertook the task, placing Lewis Meriam, now a member of the regular staff of the Institute and formerly with the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Children's Bureau, in charge. The staff Mr. Meriam assembled for this study included specialists in the legal aspects of Indian affairs, economic conditions, health education, family life, agriculture, and an Indian adviser. Approximately seven months were spent in a field survey, and another seven months in preparing this impressive report. The general summary of the Findings with which the report begins has been printed in a separate bulletin.

The report is not pleasant reading to an American, particularly to an American educator, health officer, or social worker. We learn that "an overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor" (p. 3), that their health is bad—tuberculosis and trachoma are "extremely prevalent" (p. 3)—"sanitary facilities are generally lacking," suffering and discontent are widespread (p. 6), that doctors, dentists, and nurses who served the Indians were found to be insufficient in number, poorly trained and poorly paid (p. 9), that the boarding schools for Indians which are still the "dominant characteristic of the school system maintained by the National government" are grossly inadequate, that the children are fed on a per capita of eleven cents a day plus what can be produced on the school farm and in consequence they are hungry and undernourished, that there is overcrowding in the dormitories, the supply of soap and towels is inadequate, child labor of the sort prohibited by state laws is general, and the teaching of academic subjects and of agriculture and trades is poor, routine, institutionalized. It is unnecessary to go through the entire list.

Social workers will be interested and shocked to find that the whole basis of the Indian program is founded on the theory that family and community ties should be weakened or destroyed. That the Bureau of Indian Affairs has failed in its attempts to wean the children away from their parents is another proof

of the fundamental character of family and community loyalty and the importance of the preschool period in an educational program. Along with this fundamentally wrong approach there is a complete lack of individualization in the treatment of both children and adults. In the chapter on "Women and Family and Community" the report speaks the language of the family welfare workers in its criticism of what is and its outline of what would be. For example,

Indian families like white families suffer the disintegrating effects of poverty, illness, ignorance, and inability to adjust themselves to an industrial world. Among the Indians these strains are peculiarly great because the race is undergoing a shift from primitive to modern life. They are further intensified by the condition of perpetual childhood in which the Indians have been held, for both the system of education and the type of control exercised by the government over tribal and personal property have tended to loosen family ties. So far no program of the Indian Office has included constructive work with families by workers specially trained to deal with the problems involved in family disintegration. Some work of this kind is necessary to the success of any social program for the Indians (p. 548). . . .

The Indians need specialists in the prevention of poverty as much as specialists in the prevention of disease because the two conditions are associated and each is a contributing cause of the other. In view of the large amount of family and community disintegration, for which government policies must be held in part responsible, the government has a special obligation to seek the help of people skilled in dealing with the problems that involve women in their home relations (p. 550). . . .

As a race the Indians are little concerned about the future. They lack foresight. On the whole the government has encouraged this primitive characteristic and has in some measure developed it by relying upon material relief rather than upon instruction and other forms of personal service in the treatment of poverty. Dependence on the ration in emergencies such as crop failures may be said to have become traditional in some tribes. . . .

Like the poor of other races the Indians are caught in a vicious circle. It is sometimes said that the chief cause of poverty is poverty. Indians are subject to the diseases of malnutrition because they are poor; they lack energy because they are sick and undernourished; lacking energy they cannot produce the essentials of life (p. 564). . . .

*Rations.* Family responsibility has been weakened by the way in which relief has been administered on reservations. The government still pursues policies long since recognized as pauperizing to white families. Rations are a most undesirable form of help and are useless except for the immediate purpose of relieving suffering. To give the same supply of food to each applicant is essentially a haphazard process, since applicants have very different needs. To give without investigation to determine the need is to give unwisely in most cases and unnecessarily in some. To give habitually without a working plan for the social and economic future of the family is to lose the opportunity for constructive work that the occasion offers. The evils of rationing are increased by dispensing the food publicly at the agency, for this encourages a begging attitude on the part of the Indians (pp. 585-86).

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs may possibly think that the so-called field matrons who have been on the pay-roll for a quarter of a century meet the need for family welfare workers. Their duties as described in the departmental handbook are a cross between those of a public health nurse, a visiting house-

keeper, and a case worker. The education and experience required for civil service appointment as field worker are described in a footnote of the report (p. 595) as follows:

No schooling requirements were specified until 1924, when the applicants were required to have the equivalent of an eighth grade education. In 1916 applicants were required only "to answer fully what experience and training, if any, they have had in (a) cookery, (b) household sanitation, (c) sewing, (d) care of the sick, (e) care and feeding of infants, (f) home gardening and poultry raising, and (g) social work, such as reform, settlement, slum, civic betterment, or any similar line of work," and to state "What experience, if any, they have had in the management of their own homes or in the instruction and training of others in the household arts."

Of this standard which the specifications set, the report says, "The real trouble was that the qualifications for the position were so low as to be in practice non-selective." While these women have faithfully put in their required working hours it is not to be expected that they have accomplished any satisfactory results, especially since they have been entirely without supervision, local or national (p. 596).

The Indian Service, following an investigation by the American Red Cross, began the substitution of field nurses for these field matrons as vacancies occurred. But as the report points out this is only a very incomplete remedy which leaves the larger family and community problems untouched. For "the public health nurse cannot be expected to render specialized service in those cases in which the problems are primarily economic, nor is she a specialist in the handling of those maladjustments that lead to divorce and delinquency."

The report contains many concrete suggestions in this field as in the field of public health, education, vocational guidance, and placement, but the fundamental suggestion is in the change from an untrained, unscientific, poorly paid staff to a professional personnel. The Commissioner and most of the supervisory staff in Washington are of the clerical type who, like bookkeepers, can account for money expended but are incapable of judging whether or not it has been wisely spent. The report does not recommend displacing this staff but adding to it a "scientific and technical division of planning and development" at an added expense in overhead of approximately \$250,000. This staff is to advise and counsel with the Commissioner in the formulation of policies and with schools and field agents. Unquestionably this and the increased cost for qualified field personnel is necessary if the money now being spent is not to be worse than wasted.

The report tries carefully to avoid fixing any responsibility for the character of work which the Bureau of Indian Affairs is now doing. It cannot however be pleasant reading for Secretary Work. As a physician, Dr. Work did not need to be told by a commission of outside experts that eleven cents a day was not enough to feed a child properly and that the absence of milk and butter and fresh vegetables from the diet of school children could be counted upon to produce undesirable physical results.

In the Department of the Interior "housed under the same roof" is the Bureau of Education with a corps of educational experts whose services are sought for surveys of public educational systems all over the country. The Bureau of Education was never consulted by Secretary Work nor by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as to the quality or adequacy of the education being "administered" to Indians (p. 425). This should come as something of a shock to the Institute of Government Research, which has elsewhere accepted as a fundamental principle in its recommendations for departmental reorganization that placing bureaus with related fields in the same department would mean co-ordination and more intelligent use of resources. The Public Health Service in the Treasury Department was consulted, and some improvements in this field have been begun. But the advice of the social workers of the Children's Bureau was not sought although their interest in Indian children had been indicated. The experts of the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the Department of Agriculture were also not utilized (pp. 425-26).

Inadequate appropriations might be given as an explanation of all the shortcomings of the Bureau, and the blame thus shifted to Congress, except for the fact that the Bureau and the Secretary have never appealed for adequate funds; on the contrary, they were enthusiastic co-operators in the administration's program of retrenchment and sought applause for turning back funds appropriated. Congress could have got at the root of the difficulty not by means of routine hearings before an appropriations committee but by a congressional investigation of the work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Will the changes recommended here be made? Secretary Work has left the Cabinet, but he displayed in office none of the type of administrative skill necessary for this task. Well-intentioned but inexperienced, the efficiency which he fostered was of the rubber-band, clip-saving variety. The Republican National Platform contains a plank calling for a commission to investigate the care and treatment of the Indians. The change in personnel and policy must necessarily be gradual, and the American Association of Social Workers should undertake the task of seeing that the revolution in social engineering by our Federal Government begins with the appropriation for next year and the announcements of new examinations by the Civil Service Commission.

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*The Criminal and His Allies.* By MARCUS KAVANAGH. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928. Pp. 433. \$3.00

Judge Kavanagh has studied the problem of crime and the criminal in Chicago and the United States for many years. He indicates in tables of reasoned statistics and through the citation of many significant cases how serious the situation has become. There can be no denial by anyone that the United States, without serious provocation and without the particular legacies of war,



permits and even encourages crime to an extent unimagined and unprecedented. Perhaps I ought to say unprecedented in so far as our knowledge goes. He states in the following quotation the bald facts:

Every hour of every day in the United States some poor human being falls dying under the hands of an assassin. Three times every hour the dwelling or building of some person is broken into by a thief; five times every hour some one fronts the deadly pistol of a robber. There is nothing in the civilized world to compare with this shameful condition. There never was a civilized nation in all history so disgraced and afflicted (p. 279).

Judge Kavanagh plainly holds a brief for the public. He is looking at the problem always from the standpoint of the victims as well as those who pay the mounting cost of the budget of crime. There can be no doubt that this is the proper approach. Moreover, his twenty years on the bench in Chicago has brought him a rich experience. He gives case after case of the miscarriage of justice, the ruthlessness of criminals, and the shameful neglect at times on the part of officials of justice.

To look at the problem a little more closely, there can hardly be any doubt that Chicago is about the most criminal of all the cities of the United States, and that the United States surpasses in homicides by about ten to one any of the other great modern communities, say England, France, or Germany. More disturbing still is the fact that there has been an enormous increase in all kinds of crime during the last decade. Page upon page, the author marshals his facts, incidents, and consequences; and I think he is throughout reasonable and just. He does now and then indicate a greater contempt for the contentions of those who disagree with him than the canons of historical writing permit. But he nowhere sacrifices the sympathy of the reader.

Those who claim that criminals are but morons and that environment is the principal cause of crime will disagree sharply with the narrative. The author, however, makes a pretty clear case that the criminal is rather more clever than the average population, and he uses the figures of the War Department to prove his case. In this I think most people will agree. It is a strange case, he says, if criminals are in general inferior in intellect, that men commit four or five times as much crime as women. Ordinary logic would require that the percentage of criminals as between men and women would be pretty nearly the same. On the whole, the men are supposed to have somewhat more knowledge of life and perhaps to have somewhat better intellectual training. If they commit four or five times as much crime as the same number of women, the judge argues that the theory that the ignorant commit crime falls to the ground.

What irritates Judge Kavanagh still more is the argument of many people that criminals are permitted to set up insanity as a defense. In this I think the layman in general shows quite as much irritation as the author. The increasing tendency of juries and courts to allow this sort of defense is emphasized and deprecated. Courts have become almost ridiculous. The author prefers to

think that the insufficiency of the police is one of the great causes of crime in the United States, but the figures in which he compares the number of policemen in London with those in Chicago are not entirely convincing. The number of crimes committed in London per unit of population is one-tenth as great as in a similar unit of population in the United States; in fact, the proportion is much greater than this. Yet the number of policemen in London is only about a fourth more per unit of population than in Chicago. Hence the comparative weakness of the police is only a minor cause. Although the author lays some emphasis upon this point, he attaches very much greater importance to the fact that American courts do not enforce the penalties of the law. This, he thinks, is the greatest of all the causes of crime in the United States.

If the reviewer might raise a question he would say that one important cause of the prevalence of crime in all the cities of the United States is to be sought in the historic neglect in the enforcement of law. From the very beginning American legislatures have sought to remedy evils by enacting drastic laws. Then the officers of the law have regularly failed to do their duty. This may be seen in all the measures that had to do with the Indians. It may be seen in all the laws designed to limit or regulate slaveholding. Then laws were enacted to compel business men to observe certain public interests. The greatest law on this subject was the Sherman Act of 1890. It was never enforced, and the statute became ridiculous, powerful men treating the law and the officials of the law with contempt. This I think has tended to give the average man a feeling that anyone may violate the law if he can.

There is another fundamental cause, and that is the American system of divided responsibility. The legislature enacts laws. An entirely separate group of people enforce them. And then a third group, the politicians, set themselves up to control officials of the law in the interest of party cliques. This puts a premium upon the success of politicians who can beg off the penalties of their dependents. These are all inheritances of the past and they tend to give us an attitude of mind which makes lawlessness so much more natural than in countries where responsibility in society is sharply defined and clearly understood.

This is not to argue that Judge Kavanagh is wrong. It is to say that the problem of crime in the United States requires a profound study on the part of trained people; and it then requires a different method of law enforcement. The author has certainly made an admirable contribution for which all of us are duly grateful.

WILLIAM E. DODD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Interviews: A Study of the Method of Analyzing and Recording Social Case Work Interviews* (Studies in the Practice of Social Work No. 1). New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1928. Pp. 75. \$1.00.

Dear Brother Juniper in his longing to put theology in its place among the exact sciences tried many little experiments that justify the way of God to man.

He made, for example, says Thornton Wilder, an ambitious chart in which each soul was rated on a basis of ten as regards its goodness, its piety, and its usefulness. "To be sure in the end he tore up his findings and cast them into the waves, he gazed for an hour upon the great clouds of pearl that hung forever upon the horizon of that sea and extracted from their beauty a resignation he did not permit his reason to examine."

So little do we learn by the experience of others that we have used a chart for the rating of *Interviews* as acceptable case work teaching material; and we present the following score: provocativeness 10; reality 10; completeness 8; humanity 10; clarity 8; inspiration 10.

In scoring, we omit Mr. Lurie's masterly Introduction. His pages are absorbing and inspiring to the student of social case work; an outstanding contribution to the literature of professional social work and one that will be eagerly welcomed by teachers of case work method. They set a high standard for the interviews that follow but they roll up so large a count that they leave no room for the contribution of Part II. So let us give introduction ten on each point and proceed to lay ourselves open to the fate of Brother Juniper. The reason for our rating is given under the six separate heads.

*Provocativeness* (10).—What discussions might not be held on the contrast between Interview 2—Purpose: to let Mr. K. give his reasons for leaving and to get him to go in accordance with his own wishes—and Interview 10—"You see it wasn't any plan how to approach Mrs. M.—just a greater desire for understanding."

"It should be kept in mind that the relationship between the social worker and the client is not onesided." "The objective of case work is to further the satisfactory functioning of the individual as a voluntary factor in his own life organization." "The interview was carefully planned step by step before Mr. K. was approached. The method used was to flatter him into good humor." Was Mr. K. "forced to face the conditions he had created," a *voluntary* factor?

"Situations occur—which call for analysis, frequently for changed plans." Puzzle: find in these interviews an instance where the worker changed her mind, to say nothing of her plan. Is the definition of rapport as "making friendly contacts" sufficient? Are workers never motivated by clients? It will be a very dull group of students who do not become animated and discursive under the provocativeness of *Interviews*.

*Reality* (10).—Realism plus sincerity—for the interviews are realistic to an unusual degree. Only the student who has tried to reproduce an interview can appreciate the high degree of skill these interviews represent. One feels no inclination to doubt the authenticity of a sentence, or to question the sincerity of purpose that guided the workers in writing up the interviews. Various aspects of sincerity on the part of the worker in making the interview will be dealt with under the heading of clarity. The device of using both narrative and dialogue is excellent for teaching purposes and leads one to feel that the ideal case record

is a combination of summarized data and verbatim expression of both client and worker. Ten, therefore for reality.

*Completeness* (8).—Should not good teaching material, even though it deals with only one of the case work processes give one a sense of the whole technique of case work? The interviews, so the Introduction states, are not to be judged from the aspect of standards of case work. Can this be avoided? Is it possible to consider the processes of interviewing without relating them to the case problem? One ventures to suggest that the interviews prove the contrary. We offer as evidence the contrast between the exquisite Interview 6, in which the writer gives us "understanding" of the full significance of the problem, and the sparring match so graphically portrayed in Interview 1. The settings of all the interviews are well done but those in Interviews 6 and 10 give us so high a standard that we conclude to give eight on completeness.

*Humanity* (10).—A veteran case worker sometimes finds himself utterly at sea in the jargon of high powered analysts. How refreshing, therefore, is a book which one may leave on the parlor table without warning one's mother not to touch it—a book in which we may not only understand the language but find ourselves in sympathy with the workers. One longs to sit on the step in the sun with Mrs. M. and the visitor and discuss plants and cosmetics. And if trouble visits us we shall move at once into the orbit of Interviewer 6. Ten seems too little to allot here.

*Clarity of principles and purpose* (8).—*Interviews* seems weak in this respect. The purpose and plan of analysis and recording is clear cut. So also the mental processes as the worker saw them. But the worker seems sometimes not to have seen very clearly. The principles of good interviewing as laid down in the Introduction are not borne out by all the interviews. In several one feels the lack of mutuality without which no good interviewing is possible. Sometimes the worker seems to mistake the purpose. Is not the real purpose of Interviews 1 and 2 to provide an audience for a family row and of Interview 3 to patch up the worker's previous error in case work tactics? Can one "flatter" and "feign" and still keep a clear eye on one's principles? Is it clear thinking to allow people to think they are doing things they most decidedly are not—as Eleanor directing the outing which the worker has dictated? In some of the interviews the worker is clearly the *deus ex machina*.

Although method and recording show precision, the interviews themselves are sometimes obscure as to principle. This, however, is not true of all the interviews. In only a few the picture is one of social work as the critics see us, managing destinies, inciting wives against their husbands, taking a good many futile steps that must be repeated tomorrow.

*Inspiration* (10).—On the whole this book puts social case method on a high plane. With all their faults workers and clients are on the road to insight into the mental processes of each other. In some of the interviews they attain this to a high degree. This method of analyzing and recording adds to our understanding of the processes of interviewing, even while it raises doubts as

to the possibility of analyzing the best qualities of an interview. Something very precious in human relationships defies analysis of this sort. The most successful interview is so unconscious a give and take, so spontaneous a meeting of minds, so compounded of inspirations of the moment and trivialities that only the hand of a master could do it justice.

*Interviews* seems to have recognized this, and it is a tribute to this form of analysis and recording that the authors leave us many opportunities for reading between the lines.

Having ventured so rashly into the realm of criticism it is only a step into the still more dubious realm of prophecy. *Interviews* will prove a boon to teachers of case work—it will be a battle field of discussion for both experienced and beginning workers, and this is the highest form of praise one social worker can give another.

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*A Miscellany of Tracts and Pamphlets.* Edited with a Preface and Introductory notes by A. C. WARD (The World's Classics). London: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pocket Size. Pp. xix+565. 2s.

This collection of tracts and pamphlets is indeed as its title suggests "a miscellany." All sorts of subjects, political, religious, educational, are dealt with, and one tract or pamphlet has no relation to the next.

The editor suggests that the collection is only "the product of an unadventurous and unmethodical survey along the edge" of the untamed jungle of English pamphlet literature. The only general principles applied in editing were "that each piece should relate to some topic of outstanding significance in the life of its period, and that it should have been published in separate form."

Wordsworth's choice of a sentence from Bacon for one of his tracts is quoted approvingly: "Bitter and earnest writing must not be hastily condemned; for men cannot contend coldly, and without affection, about things which they hold dear and precious." The editor thinks that the born pamphleteer is commonly "a wild and untamable creature, earnest and bitter, holding his ideas and ideals, his fads and fictions, as things dear and precious."

The first of Mr. Ward's tracts, *A Supplication for the Beggars*, was written by Simon Fish, probably in 1529 and is properly described by the editor as a pamphlet that ranks among notable Reformation documents. Although primarily an attack on the pre-Reformation clergy, Fish sets out the great poverty and misery of the people; "the lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only on alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger."

Four other tracts of special interest to social workers are Swift's *Modest Proposal Concerning the Children of Poor People in Ireland* (1729), Wesley's *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, Charles Kingsley's *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, and H. G. Wells' *Misery of Boots*.

The other tracts deal largely with political or religious subjects and are not closely related to the field of social service. Wesley's tract is of course religious, but he gives an interesting account of the services of a religious group to the poor in the eighteenth century. His "stewards," whose duty it was "to send relief to the poor," were enjoined to "give none that asks relief either an ill word, or an ill look. Do not hurt them, if you cannot help" and "expect thanks from no man." The stewards met together at six every Thursday morning and "sent relief to the sick, as every one had need, and gave the remainder of what had been contributed each week, to those who appeared to be in the most pressing want. So that all was concluded within the week; what was brought on Tuesday being constantly expended on Thursday."

On the whole, Mr. Ward has prepared an interesting and useful little book.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*L'Enfance delinquante et moralement abandonnée. Tome I. Les Tribunaux pour enfants.* (Publications de l'Association Internationale pour la Protection de l'Enfance). By PIERRE NISOT. Bruxelles: P. Dykmans, 1927. Pp. 406. Fr. 25.

This is the first of two volumes devoted to legislation establishing juvenile courts and institutions for the care of children found in need of special treatment, and contains only the laws providing for the establishment of courts. The material concerning the establishment of institutions will occupy the second volume. In this volume reference is made to the law in twenty-six countries, of which there are eight having no statute on the subject. Several considerations present themselves in examining the volume. In the first place it is wrongly named, since it treats not at all of children, nor even of juvenile courts, but only in a summary way of statutes; (2) it would be quite impossible to use the material given here without further interpretation, since the same word is used often in different senses in the various statutes quoted, and since the reader must have further definition of the terms used. Dr. Nisot gives no explanatory statement as to the kind of use he expects to make of the information or of the basis of selection and elimination. For example, Argentina is the only South American country named; Australia is omitted; among the jurisdictions in North America twelve states in the United States, among them, Colorado, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Ohio, are omitted, while the statutes of Hawaii and the District of Columbia are given at length.

Publications of this kind are very costly, and it may be that Dr. Nisot and the Association Internationale pour la Protection de l'Enfance have a pur-



pose that is clear to themselves. It is not obvious to the reader to whom this volume alone is available, and the question suggests itself as to whether, if the Association made available such summaries as have been compiled in some of the countries, supplementing these for the sake of completeness, the same object might not be attained at very much less cost.

S. P. B.

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*Fit and Proper? A Study of Legal Adoption in Massachusetts.* By IDA R. PARKER. Distributed by the Church Home Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 1927. Pp. 130. \$1.20.

As stated in the Introduction, this study is the result of "an attempt (1) to discover the extent and nature of adoption practice in Massachusetts; and (2) to learn how a certain group of adopted children turned out." The court records of six of the fourteen counties of the state were used as a basis for the inquiry. During a period of 42 months—July 1, 1922, to December 31, 1925—2,866 individuals were adopted. The petitions for adoption granted in Suffolk County—including the cities of Boston, Winthrop, Chelsea, and Revere—and in Norfolk County—a rural county—during the period of July 1, 1922, to December 31, 1924, constituted a group of 852 individuals whose cases were studied more intensively.

Forty-two of these 852 individuals were over twenty-one years of age at the time adopted. Petitions for their adoption were filed usually for property reasons.

Of the minors, more than half (60.5 per cent) were of illegitimate birth; and 64.1 per cent were under six years of age. That is, adoption was concerned primarily with young children of illegitimate birth. These 852 children came from 774 families, 61 per cent of whom had had some contact with social agencies. However, only one-third of the children were placed for adoption by social agencies.

Part II of the study is based on an analysis of 100 adoptions. Eighty-five of the individuals concerned were adopted through social agencies, and 15 without such assistance. This group of cases is too small and too highly selected to do more than indicate lines for further investigation. A comparison of these two groups shows that a larger proportion of the group of children adopted through social agencies had become or gave promise of developing into "capable" adults than of the group adopted independently of social organizations. The study of these 100 cases indicates that almost any foster family in which a child is placed with or without compensation is potentially an adoptive home. "Specific cases show that careless or unskilled placement is bound to result in a series of situations in which unfit would-be adoptive parents become attached to the children whom they insist upon adopting and that any court then finds itself at a great disadvantage in attempting to balk their desires."

This study of the practice of adoption adds valuable data to the growing

body of knowledge of adoption. However, the inadequacy of court records and of social case records and the lack of units by which human adjustment can be measured present obstacles to a complete understanding of the problem. Pending the time that such an evaluation of adoption as a method of social treatment can be made, the recommendations of this study make for the safeguarding of the social and legal rights of the persons concerned—the child, his parents, and the petitioners. The most significant recommendation growing out of this study is that every adoption petition filed should be investigated by a “person competent to make the inquiry for the purpose of supplying the court with the social facts which bear upon the situation.” In other words, adoption is a matter for careful social investigation by either an existing social agency or a specially constituted authority.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Community Problems.* By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. 589. \$3.75.

*Community Problems* is a new volume in the “Century Social Science Series,” of which Professor Edward A. Ross is the general editor. Professor Wood does not purport to develop new theories in this book. He has chosen rather to set out the facts regarding existing social ills and to describe in detail various efforts made to deal with them. His wide knowledge of social reform and social experimentation provides a singularly competent equipment for this task. No important undertaking in the field of health, in housing reform, or in recreation development seems to have escaped his attention.

Sociologists have sometimes been charged with an unwarranted devotion to theory and an equal contempt for our bungling efforts to apply theory to practice. No such charge can be laid against Professor Wood. He assumes that we study society in order to improve it. This attitude is nowhere more clearly revealed than in his section on Americanization. He examines the various concepts of the term and then attempts to define it in the light of the philosophy upon which the American commonwealth was built. But he is not content to rest his case there. Literacy, citizenship, and use of the English tongue—one by one he discusses these bogies that the ignorant have sometimes confused with that ampler quality that marks, or is supposed to mark, the citizen. Literacy and citizenship he rightly regards, not as distinguishing marks, but as prerequisites; and existing methods of attaining them are praised or criticized as the facts dictate. Immigrant gatherings at which a language other than English is spoken he dismisses as of no greater importance than the annual picnic of native-born Iowans at Los Angeles. But beyond these and more important than any of them is the task of developing a process by which a new way of life, guaranteeing economic justice and involving social responsibility and civic participation, may broaden out before the newcomer. The liberal

tone of the discussion justifies the belief that Professor Wood would be the last to assert that the immigrant should be the sole beneficiary of the leavening process.

A. W. McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*René Théophile Hyacinthe Laënnec: A Memoir.* By GERALD B. WEBB.  
New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1928. Pp. xix+146. \$2.00.

Describing as peculiarly French recent spirited arguments over the work of Calmette in Paris, an editorial in the *New York Times* commented on the fact that in the United States the names of the Americans who have made important contributions to our knowledge of tuberculosis were known to only a few laymen, and mentioned among some half-dozen to whom we are greatly indebted the author of this memoir. According to Dr. Webb, René Théophile Hyacinthe Laënnec, born in Quimper, France, in 1781, deserves to be ranked as the greatest of all physicians. Dr. Webb tells the story of his life well—his struggle for an education, his interest in poetry, the flute, botany, and Greek, as well as in physiology and anatomy, his teaching that he "might learn," his first hospital experiences, his poverty, his first patients, and the habit of painstaking research and independent thinking that began in his student days, his discovery of the stethoscope, his publication of the first scientific studies of the diseases of the chest, and his conclusion that tuberculosis was not incurable.

Laënnec's success as a student, in medical practice, and medical research, in spite of the handicaps of poverty and poor health, was the result of his ability, his devotion to truth, and his eagerness to relieve human suffering.

The inspiration of his life lies in his method of work. "In pursuit of the practice of medicine he was completely self-sacrificing; devoting himself to his patients, he surrounded them with countless attentions and the fee was always a last thought" (p. 86). Speaking of his research, he himself said, "I shall consider it ample, yea more than sufficient reward for my labor, if it should prove the means by which a single human being is snatched from an untimely death" (p. 141). In the first of a course of lectures which he gave at the Collège de France in 1822, when he concluded with the hope "that it will never happen to him to express what he thinks or what he conjectures, his point of view or his theory, for 'science is that which one knows'" (p. 124), Laënnec describes his attitude toward medical problems.

Since his discoveries were revolutionary, he was jeered and mocked in public by French physicians as well as laymen. Even his admirers in other countries thought it impossible to expect that the stethoscope, valuable as it had been demonstrated to be, would ever come into general use. "It must be confessed," wrote a contemporary translator of Laënnec's now famous *Traité de l'Auscultation*, "that there is something even ludicrous in the picture of a grave physician proudly listening through a long tube applied to the patient's thorax, as if the disease were a living thing that could communicate its condition to the sense without" (p. 110).

Laënnec could not listen to his own chest nor use his skill in the treatment of his own malady, and he died at forty-five of tuberculosis, ignorant of the final acceptance of his work. The reader of this little volume will put it down grateful to Dr. Webb for having told so charmingly the story of the life of this great scientist and humanitarian.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU

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### BRIEF NOTICES

*Certain Samaritans.* By ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY, M.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xii+302. \$3.50.

It is almost impossible to comment on this moving story of a group of modern women who played the part of the good neighbor under conditions of peril, difficulty, disease, filth, and horrors that were indescribable and would be incredible except for the testimony of their work. It constitutes in fact a chapter of magnificent heroism never to be obliterated when the true story of the "Near East" is told.

Beginning their work on the Marne, passing into Serbia, into Macedonia, to Smyrna in Turkey, to the islands of Homer and of Sappho, to the places Florence Nightingale had made immortal, beyond the Volga in Russia, accompanied by death, disease, vermin, fear, hatred, revenge, these women brought healing service to the refugees, the orphans, homeless women, the aged, and the sick, suffering from every cruelty connected with war, disease, forced migration, and starvation.

The style is fine and vigorous, the attitude one of generous understanding. If the Turk fares badly at the hand of the narrator, it must be remembered that as to the Armenians, the Greeks, the Christian Turks, the Turk was the victor. And at the end of the World War the part played by the victor was seldom a lovely one. That is of the essence of the effect of war.

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*Nurses and Nursing.* By ALFRED WORCESTER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. viii+171. \$2.00.

This is a collection of papers already published in *Nurses for Our Neighbors*, which is out of print, and in medical or other nursing journals. Dr. Worcester believes that a school for nursing should be chiefly an educational institution rather than an institution greatly affected by the interests of a hospital. He also lays stress on training in the home for visiting nursing, a point of view with which the nursing profession is evidently not in agreement. The papers contain quite delightful accounts of several conspicuous figures in the nursing profession, the first of whom is naturally Florence Nightingale. There are also interesting accounts of the inauguration of visiting nursing in Montreal and Toronto and of the opening of a nursing school in Waltham, Massachusetts.

*Public Social Services. A Handbook of Information* (4th ed., revised and enlarged). London: National Council of Social Service (Inc.), 1926. Pp. 119. 2s.

This handbook is intended to supply accurate information to all engaged in social service with reference to the powers, responsibilities, and opportunities of British public welfare activities. Public provision for health, education, industry and employment, distress arising from unemployment or disease, old age, or disabilities of war are summarized in orderly fashion. Various chapters deal with public health, national health and pensions insurance, old age pensions under the acts of 1908-24, the poor law, education, industry and employment, administration of justice, World War pensions, allowances and medical services. The chapter on the "Administration of Justice" gives an interesting sample of the information made conveniently available. Here, compressed in twelve brief pages, are the facts useful to the social worker with reference to the law courts—the jurisdiction of the police courts, the procedure of obtaining summonses and warrants, the meaning of fines and imprisonment, the possibility of probation, the use of ejectment, how to obtain separation and affiliation orders, the rights of guardianship of infants, the juvenile court, the county court, the arrangement for legal aid for the poor, and necessary facts about the police force and the prisons. The social worker thus learns where to turn for public help and knows what may be reasonably asked and with what probable results.

The object of the Council is "to bring into association the groups of men and women engaged in social service, nationally, by providing in the Council a meeting place for the representatives of government departments and voluntary bodies; locally by promoting the formulation of similar councils representing statutory authorities and voluntary agencies at work in the locality."

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*Town and Country.* By ELVA E. MILLER. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. xii+212. \$2.00

In *Town and Country* the author makes a plea for raising the position of the country town to one of greater dignity. The small town of America is all too often considered a community in the process of evolution. Its inhabitants exert every effort to make the town prosper, to make it become a city. The beauty of the country is lost. The town becomes drab and chaotic in appearance. It tries to graft the ways of the city upon its town structure. The result is a community less interested in what it is than in the pattern to which it aspires to conform.

Town and country have reciprocal relationships, as in the matter of trade. The prosperity and welfare of each is dependent upon that of the other. Life in the country must be made more wholesome. Agriculture must be made a business. The town, in turn, must realize its function as a service center to the surrounding country. Then, and then only, will there be developed the finer "rural civilization" of which the town is an integral part.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*District of Columbia Appropriation Bill, 1929.* Supplemental Hearings before the United States Senate Committee, 70th Congress, 1st session, on H. R. 11133. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. 61.

These hearings are of special interest to social workers because they deal with the care of the dependent and delinquent children of the District who must be held in detention pending disposition by the courts or other official body. Washington, strange as it may seem, is the one large city in the country which has had no juvenile detention home. In the District of Columbia children under detention by order of the juvenile court have been held in the District Police Station in charge of the Police Department's Bureau of Women and Children.

Following a survey last year of the District of Columbia activities by the Bureau of Efficiency of the federal government, it was recommended that the children under detention should be removed from the Police Department to a separate detention home for juveniles under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Welfare, which has charge of the dependent and delinquent children of the District. The opposition of the Women's Bureau in the Police Department to the suggested change led to these "Hearings" before the Senate Committee which was responsible for making the necessary appropriations for the care of the children under the new plan.

The "Hearings" brought out the fact that there were at the time forty children in the care of the Women's Bureau of the police and that some children customarily remained for a very long time under police jurisdiction. A period of 200 days is given for one child. "We have had children sent back to us by the United States courts, girls who were United States witnesses for periods of 100 days, 150 days, 165 days, waiting to testify in trials, held by order of the courts, . . ." (p. 7). With regard to the place where the children were detained, the representative of the women police said:

From the standpoint of employees we have had a rather hard time to get work done. We have never had a nurse. We have never had a doctor. We have all kinds of diseases and difficulties to contend with. We have good equipment for a clinic; but no scientific staff has been supplied, which of itself would be a vast improvement to any institution (p. 5).

Miss Helen Pigeon, representing the Association of Policewomen, said in support of the continuation of the policy of detention by the police department:

In regard to the standards of the policeman's service, new history in child welfare work has been written here in Washington and is being copied all over the country.



... Today there are policewomen in 213 cities, and they are all doing social work. They are handling these children socially. That is true of many houses of detention and the police departments. To be sure many detention homes come under the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts because away back, 20 years ago when the juvenile court grew up, the police department had not been socialized; and the juvenile court, which was the first agency of this type in the Government to be socialized, took over the care of these delinquency cases. ....

We believe this work must come back into the police department, because the police department is the first line of defense. They have the first contact with the cases. There is a definite economy when these matters are handled by the police. When a little girl is found here missing from Philadelphia, Mrs. Van Winkle may be able to get in touch with her mother. If she can do that and make an adjustment of the case there is no use in sending the girl over to the Department of Public Welfare. That involves a loss of time and unnecessary work.

The police department has got to investigate these cases. Some of them do not need to go to court. Some of them are diseased, and need hospital treatment. Some of them are feeble-minded and need custodial care (p. 51).

The chief of the Bureau of Efficiency laid before the Senate Committee a series of statements from well-known juvenile court judges and other authorities on child-caring work. A letter of inquiry which produced these statements is given below, since it conveniently summarizes the questions that were in controversy:

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO CHILD-WELFARE EXPERTS JANUARY 5, 1928

Certain changes in the District of Columbia program for the detention care of children are under consideration. Inasmuch as you were a member of the committee appointed by the Chief of the Children's Bureau which drafted the Juvenile Court Standards published in the inclosed bulletin, I should appreciate knowing whether you are still in agreement with the principles laid down under Sections II and III of the standards. In other words, I should like to have your present opinion concerning the following points:

1. Should the jurisdiction of the juvenile court begin as soon as a child is taken into custody?
2. Should the police attempt to handle unofficially cases of juvenile delinquency after the child has been taken into custody?
3. Should the police have power to hold children in a station house?
4. Should the court or the police have the responsibility for examining complaints and determining through investigation whether a petition should be filed or other formal action should be taken?
5. Should children be detained in the same building where adult offenders are held?
6. Should the detention home for juveniles be under the management of the police department?

There is some possibility of the question of detention care of children receiving consideration by one of the committees of Congress in the near future.

(Signed) HERBERT D. BROWN, *Chief Bureau of Efficiency*

Typical of the replies received is the following from Mr. Herbert C. Parsons, of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation:

I have read again the portions of the Juvenile Court Standards published by our committee and am thoroughly in accord with each of the conclusions to which you refer me.

Reviewing the matter in the order of the questions as you present them, I should say:

1. That the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court should begin as soon as a child is taken into custody; theory and practice in Massachusetts combine to make me firm in my belief that there should be no delay about the child being passed to the custody of the court. The practice in Boston is for a probation officer of the court to be immediately notified upon the arrest of the child and to take full control of the situation. It is a moment of vital importance in the handling of a case and such relationship is necessary to prevent a serious impairment of the chances that the court can deal constructively with the child.

2. The police should not handle unofficially cases of juvenile delinquency for the main reason that they are not ordinarily prepared to deal with them consistently with the fundamentals recognized in juvenile court procedure. Years of observation have confirmed me in the conviction that for the police to undertake adjustments and remedies is almost certain to muddle the situation and to make the work of the court all the more difficult because of the necessity of undoing what has been done.

3. The police should not have the power to hold children in the station house for reasons already stated. This observation, however, rests upon the assumption that there is a means of immediate contact with the court or someone representing it.

4. The court should pass upon the question of a complaint issuing. A discretion exists in the police as to an arrest and will continue to be exercised. That is to say, the police will not arrest and bring a child in unless in their opinion there is occasion for it. That, I believe, should be the limit of the police authority in the matter. Once a child is taken in hand by the police the question whether it should go to court for hearing becomes a matter for the court to decide. These preliminaries would be most unwisely provided for if the decision rested with the police.

5. Children should be detained in the same building where adult offenders are detained only when the necessity exists for being under the same roof and even here with a certainty that there is a complete separation. Nothing is more perilous than contact with adult offenders at this stage in the process.

6. The reason for court rather than police control of the detention home is that the method of its management and the atmosphere which surrounds the child here should be thoroughly consistent with the general policy of the court. Obviously, it seems to me, that involves the complete control of the detention place by the court.

Other interesting replies, all of which supported the plan of the Bureau of Efficiency to remove the children from the police, came from the following: Judge Miriam Van Waters, of Los Angeles; Judge Mary M. Bartelme, of Chicago; Judge Charles W. Hoffman, of Cincinnati; Judge Camille Kelley, of Memphis; Judge Edith Atkinson, of Miami; Judge Kathryn Sellers, of Washington, D.C.; Chief Probation Officers Fagan of New York, Hill of Chicago, and Murphy of Newark; J. Prentice Murphy, of the Children's Bureau of

Philadelphia; Dr. William Healy, of the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston; and Charles L. Chute, of the National Probation Association.

Altogether, this controversy, however regrettable it may have been in some of its aspects, was utilized to set forth vigorously and competently before a Committee of the United States Senate certain fundamental principles of child care. The Committee recommended that detained children should be cared for by the Department of Public Welfare, and its recommendation was approved by Congress. Temporary arrangements are being made for the children while the Department investigates the various methods of detention.

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*Welfare of Prisoners' Families in Kentucky* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 182). By RUTH S. BLOODGOOD. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. v+50. \$0.10.

Kentucky is one of the states in which the old "contract system" of prison labor has not only survived but has been vigorously defended in recent years by supposedly enlightened state officials. Perhaps to meet the rising tide of public opinion which has been questioning "the system," the governor in 1925 appointed a commission to study the labor system in the two state penal institutions. This commission was soon faced with the difficult question of the adequacy of the compensation paid to the prisoner for his labor, both in so far as it related to the needs and morale of the prisoners and the welfare of their families. Having no reliable data at hand about the families of prisoners, the Commission asked the United States Children's Bureau to undertake a study that would show "the social and economic effects of the father's imprisonment upon the welfare of the mother and children." In this report we have therefore an important state-wide study of the actual situation found in the families of all the men who had been in the state prisons for nine months or more.

Kentucky state prisoners are employed by manufacturing firms who pay the state 50 to 95 cents a day for the labor of an able-bodied male prisoner. The state also supplies to the firms, along with the cheap labor which is contracted for, factory buildings in the shape of prison workshops, and until a comparatively recent change made by the newly organized State Board of Charities and Corrections, the state also furnished free of charge the light and power required by the contractors. A statute of 1920 provided that prisoners who were "engaged in any kind of work" should be paid not less than 5 cents nor more than 15 cents a day, with the proviso that 25 per cent of these pitiful "earnings" should be held by the authorities and paid to the prisoner at the time of his parole or final discharge. This system of compensating prisoners clearly did not enable them to send much help to their wives and children.

It is interesting that when prisoners are employed on road work at the request of the state highway commission, then the public authorities are required to pay for prison labor "not less than \$2 a day," a marked contrast to the 50 to

95 cents a day which is asked from private contractors. Not less than 25 per cent or more than 50 per cent of the earnings of the men on road work goes to the prisoner, and preference in assignment to road work "may" be given to prisoners with families of greatest dependency.

The Bureau report shows that 714 prisoners had children under sixteen years of age and that only 166 of these men had sent money to their families. Such contributions as were sent were small and very irregular. No prisoner had sent money throughout the entire period of his imprisonment. Only 32 families had received a total of \$50 or more; 76 had received \$10 to \$50; and 56 had received less than \$10. Ten men had contributed less than a dollar a year during the period of their imprisonment. On the other hand, many of the men were receiving money from relatives for the small purchases needed to keep up their morale in prison. Sometimes it was the wife who sent money to the husband in prison instead of the "compensation to prisoners" coming to the family.

The account of the work of the Mutual Welfare League at the state reformatory is important because of its unbiased character. Seven years ago the League began its policy of giving aid to the dependent families of its members. Since that time the work has grown rapidly, and in the last month of record \$756 was sent to dependents of 80 prisoners, and the amounts have varied from \$5 to \$13 to any one family in any one month. The officials of the League recognize the limitations of carrying on this relief work without personal contact with the family and the methods employed in the distribution of the fund are given in some detail.

The most valuable part of the report is the series of case studies of the 210 families with children who were intensively studied. Here we have a vivid picture of the family sacrifices required to pay the expenses of the father's trial and to find money for the necessary living expenses. Many of the families lived on farms, and in several cases the farm was first mortgaged and then sold at a sacrifice because ready money was needed. Some of those who were able to keep their homes were handicapped by the sale of a part of the farm, stock, or equipment. Some families even sold their furniture; some let their insurance policies lapse. Many were in debt. In many cases the mother had great difficulty in carrying on the farm work. In the case of 45 families who had been living in their own homes before the father's imprisonment the homes had been given up and the mother had taken the children to live with relatives.

When possible the mothers went to work, but in the rural communities where many of the families lived there was little or no opportunity of regular employment. An occasional washing or day's work helped the family to eke out its slender resources.

Quotation of individual case illustrations is not possible, but the report contains many of them. On the whole the study should prove an extremely helpful one, for it shows how in all our machinery for the discipline and reformation of the prisoner the obligation of society to his wife and children has been

completely ignored. Definite and practicable recommendations are made in the concluding section of the report.

*Children in Street Work* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 183).

By NETTIE P. MCGILL. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. ix+353. \$0.50.

This survey of the employment of children in street work was greatly needed, and, having come, it is right that it should be comprehensive and satisfactory. With the co-operation of the school authorities careful lists of children of school age engaged in street work were obtained, and the children were then visited and scheduled. Eight different cities, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; Columbus, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia; Omaha, Nebraska; Newark and Paterson, New Jersey; Troy, New York; and Washington, D.C., were included in the investigation. Satisfactory statistics of the employment of children in street work have never been available. The United States Census furnishes the number of newsboys and bootblacks for all cities, states, and for the United States, but not the number of all kinds of street workers. As a result of the Children's Bureau survey it is clear that the census returns are considerably below the actual numbers. It is reasonable to say that not one-half the number of newsboys figure in the census statistics. The street traders are classified in five groups: newspaper carriers; newspaper sellers; child peddlers; bootblacks; and miscellaneous street workers, including junk collecting, which with its temptation to steal salable articles is one of the most dangerous of the entire group.

Most street-trading children work in connection with the sale and distribution of newspapers either as carriers or sellers. The former are the aristocrats of the street-trading group, coming on the whole from better homes, having regular and for the most part suitable hours of employment, and having as a result better school records than children in the other groups. Sellers, on the other hand, work very long hours as well as at undesirable times, and in undesirable surroundings. The report concludes that newspaper-selling should be regulated like other forms of child labor, that the age minimum for licenses to sell newspapers should be as high in each state "as public opinion will permit," looking toward the prohibition of the work for boys under sixteen, with provision for the revocation of the license to sell on the recommendation of the child's school principal and periodical physical examination of newsboys as recommended by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association as a result of its study of the health of newsboys. The report notes that no inconvenience to the public would be caused by the regulations and calls attention to the fact that newsboys are rarely found in European cities, where the business of selling papers is in the hands of elderly men and women and the physically handicapped. State laws, local ordinances, and methods of enforcement are carefully discussed.

On the economic side, it is pointed out that newsboys generally come from poor families but only in rare cases from destitute families. The newsboy as the support of a widowed mother is not a picture drawn from life. "Almost as many newsboys as other boys have fathers supporting their families." But although the families in most cases would not acknowledge that the earnings of the children of school age were necessary, the standard of comfort in most of the homes was so low that "the temptation for the boys to earn what they can is irresistible." The report, however, rightly emphasizes the fact that "permitting young children to ease the pressure not only does not contribute to a solution of the problem but, on the contrary, probably delays it."

The report is emphatic also on the subject of children who sell articles on the streets. "No excuse exists for the child peddler. The public is conveniently and abundantly supplied in other ways with all the peddler's commodities and the work is demoralizing to the child." The close connection between peddling, begging, and vagrancy is pointed out. Bootblacking by children is also vigorously condemned. The prohibition of peddling and bootblacking by street-trades regulations is recommended, and such a step is said to be immediately practicable since neither the public nor any class of employers has any interest in keeping these children on the street.

The report ought to be carefully studied by all social workers interested in preventive work. Legal regulation of child labor in street trades has not been developed in this country along with regulation of child labor in industrial occupations. This report shows the necessity for such legislation and suggests practicable methods of legislative control.

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*The Physique of Women in Industry. A Contribution towards the Determination of the Optimum Load.* (Great Britain Medical Research Council, Industrial Fatigue Research Board, Report No. 44). By E. P. CATHCART, E. M. BEDALE, C. BLAIR, K. MACLEOD, E. WEATHERHEAD. London, 1927. Pp. vi+142. 5s.

Among the questions that have been long in controversy is the effect of industrial employment on women wage-earners, especially on their health as mothers or prospective mothers. A considerable number of investigations in this field was carried out in England during the war when, for a time, the dominating motive of industry was productive capacity and not merely securing goods salable at a profit.

In connection with proposals to introduce more appropriate control by the authority administering the English Factory Acts, the Home Office has asked the Medical Research Council through its Industrial Fatigue Research Board to investigate various aspects of the problem of women's work in connection with the lifting and carrying of weight. The present study is the second bearing on women's work, the first having to do rather with different methods of



carrying than with the weight of the load. A similar study had also been made by the War Department with reference to the soldiers. An extensive study was therefore undertaken under the direction of Professor E. P. Cathcart, professor of chemical physiology of Glasgow, of which the results are given in this report. Over four thousand women in different occupations, some just out of employment, some unemployed for a year, some from a training college, some from urban and others from rural communities, were measured as to (1) weight, (2) height, (3) length of arm, (4) distance of finger tips from the ground, (5) muscular strength as tested in the use of muscles ordinarily employed and also in the use of muscles rarely employed.

It is not possible to describe at length the observations. The results of the study are what were to be expected, namely, that the younger workers, that is, those between fourteen and eighteen, are slightly under average weight, under average pull. The ones between sixteen and eighteen are up to average heights, grip, and "crush," while the women over eighteen from the heavy industries selected were slightly above average in weight, pull, grip, and crush, and of average height. It seemed that the optimum load for continuous carriage is one equal on the average to about 35 per cent of the body weight, though this is affected by the method of carriage.

Between fourteen and sixteen growth is still taking place and the load should not exceed 25 or 30 pounds, and for the sixteen to eighteen group, 40 pounds should not be exceeded.

The metabolic cost of carriage seems to depend, however, to a considerable extent on the disposition of the load; methods of carriage which require a considerable departure from the erect position are costly; the heavier trades seem to draw the women of more vigorous physique; the inquiry supports the general belief that the rural population is of better physique than the urban.

The study strengthens the conviction that work as work hurts no one; but ill-adjusted loads deform young bodies and are unduly costly to the industry when the worker is older. Neither for men nor for women is it well that the remedy for unsatisfactory conditions should be found by excluding one sex. The better way is the adjustment of the job to the individual. Women ask nothing better than that industry should be rationalized by that procedure; until that is found possible some bulwarks must be thrown against the exploitation of the worker by the employer whose judgment is blurred by the misleading balances of the ledger sheet.

*Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act 1925. Précis of Decisions on Appeals Made under Section 29 (2) of the Act.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. 60. 2s.

The administration of the British Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act (see this *Review*, I, 249-57) has great interest for social workers in the United States. In Great Britain the administration of the act

is in a national department, the Ministry of Health, whereas in the United States, "mothers' aid" administration is in the hands of local agencies—the juvenile court, or the relief agencies, or child welfare boards. In general there is no appeal from the decisions of these agencies and there is no central authority to collect and publish the decisions reached in controversial situations. In England, abstracts of decisions reached on appeal under circumstances where the applicant is not satisfied and appeals from the ordinary administrative authority to the special body of referees authorized to hear and decide such appeals have to do with the three divisions of the act: (1) the Widows' Pensions, (2) the Orphans' Allowances, and (3) the Old Age Pensions sections.

Under the first, for example, questions as to the validity of marriage are passed upon, to determine whether or not the applicant is a legal widow, when there had been irregularity, or there was lack of evidence; as to the amount of evidence necessary with reference to the husband's death, to his being "an insured person," whether the child is under sixteen or is not attending day school full time. In a number of cases the referees support the contention of the applicant as against the administrative official. Such was the case when the husband was a Jew, the wife non-Jewish; but she went through a Jewish ceremony performed by a Jewish rabbi before witnesses and afterward kept Jewish observances. Neither the rabbi nor the witnesses could be traced, but the fact that she observed Jewish practices and that they had been reported man and wife was held sufficient evidence.

Under the question of orphans' allowances interesting questions arise when the children are in the poorhouse not for ordinary care as destitute children, but in an institution of which part is set aside for mentally deficient children. The document will prove interesting to students who wish to understand the exact nature of rights granted under the statutes, something the local administration of American laws renders very difficult indeed.

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*Employment of Tuberculous Patients. Report by the Medical Officer of Health* (London County Council No. 2545). London, 1928. Pp. 27. 1s.

The employment of handicapped persons whether crippled children or adults suffering from disabilities of considerable duration has become of great interest because of both its therapeutic and its economic importance, and careful studies become of interest to students of the problem everywhere. This Report is brief but very suggestive. There is a discussion of the employment of tuberculous persons (1) by private employers, (2) by public authorities in specially selected jobs, (3) in specially organized workshops. Such subjects as vocational training for subsequent employment in the patient's home or in a sanatorium or settlement, vocational training of children, and the employment of tuberculous women are also dealt with. The results of various experiments, such as the Phipps Institute of Philadelphia in 1904, a Standard Oil undertaking

in California, the Altro Workshops and the Reco Manufacturing Company in New York, are summarized.

The conclusions are briefly summarized and although they may not contain anything very new, they are conveniently set out and are well worth quoting:

1. The problem of the unemployed person suffering from tuberculosis is in many respects similar to that of the unemployed healthy person.

2. A reduction in the total number of unemployed will be associated with a fall in the number of tuberculous unemployed.

3. Speaking generally, the working capacity of the tuberculous person whose disease is not arrested is not more than 50 per cent of the normal person.

4. Many of these partly incapacitated persons, though unfit for work as ordinarily carried out, are capable of being employed to a varying extent under special conditions.

5. These special conditions include various forms of employment which call for little physical effort together with hours of work regulated to the physical capacity of the employee and a hygienic environment.

6. The loss of efficiency of the tuberculous worker can be made good to some extent by the use of labour-saving methods.

7. Wherever possible, a tuberculous person should seek for an employment for which his previous experience fits him. The best course as a rule is the return, perhaps under modified conditions, to his usual employment.

8. Experience has shown that the training of adults over the age of 25 in a new occupation, regarded as suitable on medical grounds, is not practicable as a general policy. The training of ex-service pensioners has proved to be of very little value.

9. The training of tuberculous persons at the younger ages would probably prove more satisfactory, but as yet, in respect of pulmonary cases, there is little experience upon which to base a definite opinion.

10. In some cities the employment of a limited number of tuberculous persons by public bodies, e.g., in parks, has been found practicable. Institutions for the treatment of the tuberculous also have absorbed a certain number of patients as members of the staff. Difficulty, however, commonly arises on the question of superannuation and pension.

11. Specially organised schemes of employment of the tuberculous may be provided:

i) in association with an institution for the treatment of tuberculosis, the employees living upon the premises, or in a settlement as at Papworth.

ii) in a suitably arranged workshop, urban or rural, the employees living in their usual homes, e.g., the Altro Workshop of New York, the Factory-in-the-Fields, Leeds, and the Spero Workshops in London.

12. Under any circumstances, a commercial undertaking employing tuberculous employees and paying a wage adequate for their maintenance cannot be run without considerable financial loss and must be subsidised in some way.

13. In times of trade depression, with a million or more healthy people out of work the establishment of a new industry on an extensive scale staffed with tuberculous employees would be extraordinarily difficult, even if it were thought to be desirable.

14. Present experience suggests that an industrial settlement run in connection with a sanatorium is more easily organised than an independent workshop, but such industrial settlements are very costly to establish and can only find employment for a

small number of carefully selected cases. Their extension on a large scale may also prejudice the few which have already obtained some success.

15. The regular employment under suitable conditions of the partly disabled tuberculous person, whether in a settlement or in a city workshop, has proved to be of value in connection with their treatment and after-care.

16. It has not so far been found possible to provide the benefits of regular work at a cost which allows of an employment scheme being considered as a practical policy for general adoption.

17. It is maintained by the promoters of the Altro Workshop, New York, that since patients have been enabled to earn a wage, the amount spent upon their relief has been reduced. Figures in support of this claim are not available.

18. It is possible that with careful management a certain number of selected cases could be employed at a cost less than that entailed by their complete maintenance out of the rates.

19. Care committees and similar voluntary agencies have succeeded to a limited extent in placing tuberculous patients in suitable occupations, and under present conditions they can do more for patients than any other agency. Care committees do not attempt to create employment but aim at securing vacant situations for their clients.

20. In some areas, a few patients have been found employment in unskilled occupations, such as jobbing gardeners, basket-work, car-park attendants, etc. Sanatorium superintendents can co-operate in this direction by giving patients, as a part of their treatment, instruction in simple handicrafts, etc.

21. The teaching of handicrafts in sanatoria and tuberculosis dispensaries (vocational treatment) even if not of economic value is serviceable as a means of usefully employing the time of the patients, and diverting their minds from constantly dwelling upon their physical condition.

22. A workshop for women patients on similar lines to the Altro workshop in the United States is well worthy of consideration.

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